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A STUDY IN EGYPTIAN RELIGIOUS ORIGINS

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THIS article is an attempt to sift the existing material dealing with the earliest stages in the development of Egyptian gods, and, if possible, to account for the rise and early growth of the gods, Horus, Set, Osiris, and Re. The bulk of what is here set down is still merely tentative, but it is certain that a few conclusions have been reached which will serve as working hypotheses for future light and investigation. At any rate, it is believed that every student of Egyptian religious ideas must first have a clear picture in his mind as to Horus, Set, Osiris, and Re, before he can proceed very far with his task.

The predynastic period of Egyptian civilization is represented by practically no contemporaneous sources. The few exceptions are: The famous Palette of Narmer, the Louvre Palette Fragment, the Palette with Giraffes flanking a Palm-tree, the Cairo Palette Fragment, and the Carved Ivory Knife-handle, &c. All these come from Upper Egypt. Indeed, the Delta has not so far produced any records of the predynastic period. Of course we appeal to such records as Manetho's History quoted by Eusebius, the Turin Papyrus of Kings, the Palermo Stone, and Fragments of the Palermo Stone or of a similar stone preserved in Cairo.

Skeletons permit us to trace three types of people in early Egypt: a Mediterranean race, a Semitico-Libyan race, and a Semitic race. It is likely, however, that previous to the coming of these races, Egypt was inhabited by a stone-using Hamitic race, related somewhat to the three succeeding races.

On clay vases and on walls of predynastic tombs there are painted various scenes consisting of boats, buildings, a falcon, an elephant, a solar disc, crossed arrows, mountains, &c. These are taken to be ensigns of clans, which constituted perhaps tolemic groups. Each clan

or village planted above its fortified gates its own ensign. Each village or clan had a council of elders, the *šeru*, which constituted the authority for that clan. Evidence for these statements is deduced from materials found at chalcolithic stations, and seem to represent the culture of the indigenous Egyptians, probably, the Hamitic race.

Clans or villages gradually developed into districts or nomes. The ensigns which were totems or fetiches, became alive and led men, as we learn from predynastic graves, and they developed into gods. The elders became chiefs or kings. By 3000 B.C. there were 20-22 nomes in Upper Egypt and 20 for Lower Egypt, each nome having its own ensign or totem.

As a rule the totem gave its name to the village, which in turn gave its name to the nome.

At an early date in the predynastic period there grew up in the western Delta several strong nomes or kingdoms. There was the Kingdom of the Harpoon in the north-west. East of that was the *Ha-ka* Kingdom; on the south-east was the Kingdom of Neit, and on the south-west was the *Ament* Kingdom. The ensigns of these Kingdoms and their relationships, are to be seen on decorated pottery of the predynastic age. These Kingdoms were often at war, and a victory is often represented by the ensign of one Kingdom being placed upon the ensign of another, as, for example, when the Falcon is seen perched upon the Harpoon. It seems probable that in time the Kingdom of Neit, whose capital city was Sais, united several small Kingdoms into one large Kingdom in the north-western Delta. At any rate the totem of the Kingdom of Neit, which was now the goddess Neit, appeared wearing the red crown, which played such an important rôle in later times. The people of the Kingdom of Neit were probably of Mediterranean stock although mixed with Libyan blood, for later Neit is called Mistress of the Mediterranean (Musée du Caire, pl. XLV, 41-42), and Plato records in Timaeo (ed. Franc), p. 1043, that the inhabitants of Sais were much attached to the Athenians, to whom they considered themselves related (cf. Diodorus V, 57 ff. 45). Indeed, the shield of Neit has Mycenaean artistic characteristics.

The Ament Kingdom in the south-west, apparently was conquered by a Falcon Kingdom, for we find the ensign of Ament surmounted by a Falcon. This Ament Kingdom was later called the *Tehenu* or Libyan nome (*tj-tjnw*), the third nome of the western Delta. This Falcon-Ament Kingdom, it seems, represented the Semitico-Libya

race. The Kingdom of Neit, although primarily Mediterranean, had perhaps affinities with the Semitico-Libyans, for she was called the Libyan (*tḥnw.t*).

There were, it seems, many other Kingdoms or nomes in the predynastic Delta about which we know at present very little. However, it seems clear that already in predynastic times there arose two great groups of nomes or Kingdoms in the Delta, a western and an eastern, the West representing the Mediterranean, Semitico-Libyan, and indigenous races, presided over by a Falcon King, with his capital at Behdet (*bḥd.t*), and the East representing the Semitic and indigenous races presided over perhaps at first by a Post King, Anzti (*'nd.tj*) "he of the eastern nome" (PT 220c), of Dedu, whose descendants wore the red crown, and then by his successor Osiris of Busiris (earlier Dedu, named from the ensign Ded, *dd*). This eastern group of nomes or kingdoms were inhabited largely by an Asiatic race, more massive in build than the indigenous population, who gradually filtered in through the eastern Delta, and brought with them and developed a high type of civilization.

Somewhat later, but still in the predynastic age, the Falcon Kingdom of the West established itself at Buto, where Uto was worshipped, and as it seems, triumphed over the East, for the Falcon-god became master of Lower Egypt. It also seems clear, according to WEIGALL (*A History of the Pharaohs* I, 83-85), that long before the dynastic period a united Kingdom arose in the delta, including many great cities, such as Buto and Sais—Buto the earliest and Sais the later capital—over which reigned kings whose ensign was the "Hornet" (*ḥt-ty*), and who afterwards wore the red crown, which was formerly worn by Neit, who remained the patron goddess of Sais, and whose ensign was a shield and two crossed arrows. The patron goddess of Buto (Buto = *pr.wḥdy.t*, "house of Uto") was the cobra Uto (*wḥdy.t*), who became afterwards the patroness of the Kingdom and hence of the whole Delta, while the cobra ultimately became the pharaonic symbol of royalty. This Kingdom of Lower Egypt was generally called the "North Land," or "Papyrus Land" (*t' wḥd*), its arms was the papyrus (*wḥd*) and the crown was a red cap decorated with the cobra (*wḥdy.t*) of Buto.

About three centuries after the establishment of the Hornet Kingdom of Lower Egypt, another Kingdom arose with its capital first at Aḥnas (Herakleopolis) and later at Memphis. The king's ensign was the

"Reed" (*nsw*). The original capital Ahnas was called after the ensign or totem, "Palace of the Reed" (*ḥ nsw*). The king of the Reed Kingdom wore a tall white cap, afterwards known as the White Crown of Upper Egypt. After the whole of Egypt was united into one Kingdom, the king took the combined ensigns of these two kingdoms, and was called the *nsw-bity*, or the "Reed and Hornet." The people of this kingdom were perhaps similar in racial characteristics to those of the Delta Kingdom.

Still south of the Reed Kingdom arose another kingdom, the ensign of whose king was a Falcon. The capital was Nekhen (*nḥn*), the Greek Hierakonpolis, close to Edfu. At first the kingdom was small, but later it expanded, and reached from the Reed Kingdom to Lower Nubia. Indeed, it is thought that the rulers came from the far south-east but this is probably not so, for the rulers of this Falcon Kingdom are the descendants of the rulers of the Falcon Kingdom of the Delta. The confusion arose through a later identification of the Falcon Horus with the old war-god Onuris of the far south-east.

There was another predynastic kingdom in Upper Egypt at Thinis (*tny*) near Abydos, between Luxor and Asyût. The ensign of most of the kings was the Falcon. They may have succeeded the Falcon Kings of Nekhen. But each king appears to have had another ensign or title, written beside the Falcon ensign. This designated him as King of Thinis, and may have been the original ensign of the city of Thinis. As the city of Thinis stood at the head of the route from the Nile to the Oasis of El Khâreh, it is thought that the ruling class entered Egypt by this route. It is more probable, however, that they came up the Nile. Indeed, since Osiris installed himself in Abydos in the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, the metropolis of which was Thinis it may be that the rulers of the Thinite Kingdom came from the eastern Delta, the earlier home of Osiris.

In addition to these kingdoms there was a race of people whose name is not known, but who worshipped the god Set. The Set-people perhaps represent if not the indigenous Egyptians, at any rate, an older population of the Nile than the Mediterranean, Semitico-Libyan, or Semitic peoples. They may not have been pure Hamitic. Indeed, there is much to point to a partial foreign origin. They may have been a desert or nomadic people mixed with Hamitic blood, for they were to be found in various parts of Egypt, north and south, and whenever a foreign element prevailed in Egypt, Set seemed to have been the honoured god. Set i

said to have been born in Sesesu (*Šššw*, *Denk. Memph. Theo. Cc*) in the Fayûm.

The god Set had the form of an animal, perhaps the Wart Hog. The main capital of the Set-people was the city of Nubi (Ombos), just south of Thinis, where a great temple was dedicated to Set, and where there are vast predynastic cemeteries. It is believed that the Set-people were closely related to the Libyans, for Nubi was situated near the head of routes to the Oases, where Libyans dwelt, and the emblem of Neit, who was perhaps Libyan in origin, has been found on predynastic pottery at Nubi. The Set-people became so powerful that Set was widely known as the god of Upper Egypt even as Horus was god of Lower Egypt.

There was still another people who seemed to form a distinct community and who much later, in the Second and later Dynasties attained to great importance. They were the people of On (Heliopolis). The original ensign of this city seems to have been a sort of pillar (*lwn*), from which its name On comes. The inhabitants worshipped Re, who was perhaps in origin an Asiatic deity. The symbol of Re was a pyramidion, called *ben* or *benben*. The people of On are thought to have been the bedouin Iwntiu of the Eastern Desert, that is "the people of the pillar." They may have entered by the way of the eastern Delta and partly by the Hammamat Road. The pyramidion and the pillar ensign suggest a Mediterranean or Semitic people, probably the latter. At Heliopolis Re displaced an earlier deity, Atum, perhaps an ichneumon totem.

Various theories have been proposed to explain the origin of the predynastic Egyptians. There are two that are best known. According to the first, predynastic Egypt was occupied by two peoples, not necessarily of different stock, one occupied the Fayûm and a part of the Nile valley as far south as Kawamil, the other from there southward. The second people entered Egypt by the way of the Wadi Hammamat and conquered the other people and united Egypt. According to the second theory, the predynastic population was a single indigenous people, akin to the Mediterranean race. Near the end of the predynastic period a new race entered via the Wadi Hammamat from Arabia.

These two theories are perhaps too simple. There must have been an indigenous people. These one would expect to have been Hamitic, perhaps a stone-using people. Much evidence has been accumulated

to demonstrate the close relationship between Egypt and especially Mesopotamia, Egypt and Syria, Egypt and Libya, and Egypt and Nubia. There were the indigenous Hamites or Africans, but long before the historical period in Egypt a Mediterranean people made their way into the Delta. The Libyans in predynastic days entered Egypt at various points, and at various times. Nubians came north, and Semites including perhaps Elamites and Sumerians came west and entered Egypt at various points, especially via the Wadi Hammamat, and at various times. The greatest cultural contribution to the land of Egypt was made by the eastern invaders. All these invasions took place in predynastic times.

Thanks to the work of AMÉLINEAU and PETRIE, the tombs of the kings immediately preceding the First Dynasty and of those who reigned for half a millennium afterwards have been discovered. The earliest of these tombs which contains any written records is that of a Falcon King, named Ro, perhaps a descendant of the rulers of the earlier Falcon Kingdom of Upper Egypt, who seems to have been the seventh in his line. His royal residence appears to have been at Thinis, but the center of his Kingdom may still have been the old Falcon city—Nekhen. His Kingdom perhaps extended from Gebel Silsileh in the south to the border of the Reed Kingdom at Herakleopolis in the north. The next Falcon King of importance was the "Scorpion," who besides being Falcon King, inherited the throne of the Reed Kings of Aḥnas and Memphis, and thus became King of the whole of Upper Egypt. He is found wearing the tall white crown of Aḥnas.

The successor of the "Scorpion" is the famous Narmer. Nar seems to have been his Falcon name of Nekhen, and Mer his Falcon name of Thinis. The famous slate palette belongs to the reign of Narmer, which represents the king, as KEIMER has shown (*Aegyptus* VII, 169 ff.), in his conquest of the North, or at any rate of the Harpoon Kingdom in the North. It is interesting to note that on one side of the palette Narmer is represented wearing the white crown of the Reed Kingdom, and on the other the red crown of the Hornet Kings of Lower Egypt. This shows that Narmer had conquered at least the western side of the Delta.

The son (?) and successor of Narmer was Menes the "Thinite," and founder of the First Dynasty. Menes married Neithotpe ("The Peace of Neit"), who may have been a princess of Lower Egypt, but it is quite possible that she may have been a princess of the Set-people of

Nubi (Ombos), for she was ultimately buried in the desert behind that city, and the Set-people, Libya and Lower Egypt were closely related. It is not unlikely that Neithotpe was a ruler of the Set-people, for it is possible that the Set-people were sometimes ruled by queens. Then Menes assumed a new title, namely, *Nebty*, "Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra." The Cobra is Uto of Buto, of Lower Egypt, and the Vulture is the patroness Nekhebt of Nekhen, which means that Menes represented himself as Falcon and Hornet King. Menes founded the city of Memphis (*mn-nfr*), called also the "White Wall."

The son and successor of Menes was Athothi one of whose titles was Khenti. His tomb was afterwards regarded as the sepulchre of Osiris, and as such became an oft-frequented shrine, where a stone image of Osiris was established. WEIGALL (*A History of the Pharaohs* I, 111) believes that the story told of the murder of Osiris by Set is historical and Osiris was Athothi. Athothi's son Kenken would then be Horus. WEIGALL thinks that as Osiris was the god of Thinis, the ancestral home of Athothi, the attribution of events in the king's life to the reign of the god Osiris on earth is quite probable. He, therefore, thinks that the Set-people rebelled against Athothi and murdered him, and that the queen Aso of the Osiris story was the reigning sovereign of the Set-people.

The next king Kenken was given the name Uto as Falcon King of Hierakonpolis. Now the marshes of Buto is where Horus, son of Osiris, is supposed to have begun his reign as a fugitive. This would be in keeping with the belief that Kenken is Horus son of Osiris. The successor of Kenken was a woman, Uenneph or Henneit, "Neit is victorious," probably a Set princess. She is also called Ato which may be the same as Aso of the Osiris story. If so, the Set-people may now have come into power. The next ruler was a king, Usaphai, the first to use the title *Nsw-Bity*, "Reed and Hornet." An interesting event in his reign was "the smiting of the Iwntiu," kinsmen of the people of On (Heliopolis). Usaphai's son and successor was Miebi, the first king since the Union of Upper and Lower Egypt who was recognized by Lower Egypt as the legal successor of their own monarchs.

The Second Dynasty is the age perhaps of the great clash between the different religious factions. The second king, Keken whose other name is Nebre, is the first Egyptian king to incorporate the name of the god Re into his name. This reign, therefore, seems to mark the rise of the religion of the sun-god of Heliopolis. The chief event of

the reign of the next king, Bineter, was a war waged by him as Falcon King against the united factions of Re of Heliopolis and Set of Ombos, in which the Falcon King was victorious. The following sovereign calls himself King of the Set-people, but the sixth king is a Re worshipper, namely, Neferkere. The seventh king was a worshipper of the god Sokr of Memphis, namely, Neferkesokr. The eighth king was a Re-worshipper, Kere, and the ninth king was a Falcon King, Thethi, who also called himself a Set King. As Falcon King the ninth king of this dynasty was called Kheneri, otherwise Khesekhemui. He took still another title, "Pacifier of the two Falcons"—perhaps in reference to the Falcon and Set peoples. Kheneri conquered Lower Egypt and the sun-worshippers of Heliopolis. His reign ended in peace—the Set-people as well as the sun-worshippers recognized him. It is thought that the well-known legend of the rebellion against the sun-god, Re, is an echo of the defeat of the sun-worshippers in this dynasty, and the legend of the snake which bit Re, and of the conflict and compromise between Horus and Set, have their historical background in these two dynasties. It was Kheneri who united all these factions in a strong empire. The successor of Kheneri was founder of the Third Dynasty. The second king of the new Dynasty was the famous Zoser. In the title of the fourth king of this dynasty, the phrase, "Lord of the Two Lands," occurs for the first time, and in the title of the sixth king, the phrase *Hr-nby*, "The Golden Horus," or "Horus over Nubi (Ombos)" occurs for the first time. This sixth king is none other than Snefru, in whose reign the worship of Re of Heliopolis became supreme, and continued so to be especially during the fourth and fifth dynasties. Beginning with the Fifth Dynasty, the king became very definitely a representative of the sun-god on earth. In the reign of the seventh king of the Fifth Dynasty, Menkuhor, the Falcon-god was identified completely with Re. The following king, Dedkere, was the first to have used the famous title *Sa-Re*, "Son of Re." During the Sixth Dynasty the power of Re began to decline, and Ptah of Memphis became supreme.

Of the religion and ritual of the predynastic Egyptians we know practically nothing. But it is pretty certain that Egypt at an early period passed through a true totemic stage. Natural objects, usually animals, served as totems. Thus we know of a score of animals that were special objects of tribal devotion, such as, falcons, cobras, beetles, asps, cats, scorpions, lions, crocodiles, jackals, rams. Trees, arrows

harpoons are examples of other totems. Totemism, perhaps, had its origin in a sense of kinship between a tribe and some particular kind of natural object. Such totems at first were the ensign of villages, then of nomes. They served as cult objects, and in time were worshipped as gods. The original Egyptians worshipped these totem gods. Then came foreign, mostly Asiatic, peoples who worshipped gods in the form of men. The two were amalgamated, and we have the humanized totems, such as the god Set who appears as a man with the head of the Set animal, or the falcon-headed Horus, the jackal-headed Anubis, the cow-headed Hathor, the ram-headed Khnum, the cat-headed Bast, the lion-headed Sekhet, the ibis-headed Thot. These humanized totems represent the second stage in the development of the Egyptian pantheon. A third stage may be seen in the entrance from Asia of cosmic gods, such as the sun-god Re at Heliopolis, Nun, Shu. A fourth stage may be found in dynastic times, when there arose what may be termed abstract gods, such as Ptah, Min, Hathor, Maat, Sia, Hu. Perhaps such gods as Osiris and Isis may be called purely human gods, although these also may be termed cosmic gods.

Some gods reigned alone—one in each nome; other gods had many nomes, e.g., Horus, Osiris, Hathor, Khnum, Thot. Each god was surrounded by his own peculiar complex of beliefs, and the local god was never completely absorbed by an invading god, and even when a national god arose, as Horus did in Lower Egypt, the local gods retained their rights and privileges.

In light of the above study, let us see what may be said about the origin of the four great gods, Horus, Set, Osiris, and Re.

So far as Egypt is concerned, Horus and Set seem to be the oldest of these four gods, indeed, it has been said that the falcon may have been the first thing worshipped by the people of Egypt. Already at a very early time, the worship of Horus became so general that the falcon came to serve as the class sign for all male deities. This associated with the fact that the uraeus serpent of the goddess Uto at an early time became the class sign for all female deities points to Lower Egypt as the original home of Horus. Indeed, not only did Horus become the god of the second and third Lower Egyptian nomes, but he was also closely associated with the fifth and seventh Lower Egyptian nomes. But originally it was the western side of the Delta with which Horus was connected—even the Egyptian word for “west” is a falcon on a divine stand. There are those (VON BISSING, for example) who think

that Horus came originally from Libya. At any rate he represented the early Semitico-Libyan population of Egypt.

It seems that originally Horus, the falcon, was totem god of Behdet (*bḥd.t*), the city Daman-hur in the Delta. Then he became god of the little West Delta Kingdom, then national god of the whole of Lower Egypt, Behdet remaining the capital. Still later he came into conflict with Set the god of Upper Egypt at Ombos, conquered him, and became god of United Egypt, and it was then that he was given a new home at a new Behdet in Upper Egypt, the modern Edfu. It was then thought that he became, not the "Golden Horus," but "Horus over the Ombite" (*Hr-nby*). This is "Horus the Elder" (*Hr-wr*), Haroëris, brother of Osiris and Set, "Horus who presides over the two eyes" (PT 1670, 2086), as god of the second Lower Egyptian nome, Letopolis.

MASPERO believed that Horus came from the south, and that he and his followers were Africans from the Upper Nile. This is due to a misunderstanding—namely, the fact that long after the Delta Horus was established at Edfu (Behdet in Upper Egypt), the Upper Egyptians themselves came to think that their god Horus came from the south or south-east. At Edfu Horus gradually became (because of his warlike exploits) identified with an old war-god, Onuris, who came from Nubia, and was thought to be a south-eastern desert-god. Moreover, Hathor was conceived to be the wife of Horus, and, as she came from Punt, the original home of Horus was sought there also. Indeed, Horus was called the "divine falcon who came from the god's land" (*Edfu* I, 95). No, the Horus of Edfu was the same as the old Delta Horus, with Upper Egyptian colouring. He became not only the god of the third Upper Egyptian nome, Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), but also god of the second Upper Egyptian nome, at Edfu. Here he was Horus of Behdet. He was also worshipped as Horus of Behdet at Dendera of the Sixth Upper Egyptian nome. The Horus of Upper Egypt not only had his own exploits, but also the exploits of the Horus of the Delta were retained in memory at a later period to pay honour to Horus of Edfu, and just as the Delta Horus was Lord of Lower Egypt so Horus of Edfu became Lord of Upper Egypt. With the passage of time many attributes were ascribed to Horus: he was a war-god (all falcon-gods were war-gods); he was a sun-god; he was a sky-god. Then he was called the son of Osiris. The basis of this last title has a historical kernel, perhaps, in the events of the reign of Athothi of the

First Dynasty, but the relationship was transferred in idea to the earliest times. In reality, originally Horus had nothing to do with Osiris (cf. PT 583). But solar theologians constructed a pantheon and assigned Horus to the position of son of Osiris and Isis. As such he is known as "Horus the Younger," Harpokrates, conceived by Isis after the death of Osiris (PT 632 = 1635; also 186, 1199, 1505, 1787). He was protected by Onuris, a warrior- and hunter-god, in the Delta. So the confusion began!

Thus, Horus was originally a Lower Egyptian god of perhaps Semitico-Libyan origin. He became god of the whole of Lower Egypt. In Upper Egypt a falcon-god, the Horus of Lower Egypt, or a falcon-god identified with Horus of Lower Egypt, gradually became god of the whole of Upper Egypt. When by theological speculation Horus was given a place in the pantheon he was called the son of Osiris, and as such is known as "Horus the Younger."

Because of the fact that the cult places of Set are scattered throughout Egypt and are generally on the border of the desert, it is thought that Set was originally either a god of an indigenous people, the Hamites or a mixture of the Hamite with other races, or that he was originally a Libyan god. The chief cult-place of Set, however, was Nubt, that is Ombos, south of Dendera (PT 204, 370b, 1145b, 1667a). The beginning of his worship at Ombos carries us back to a very remote period. From being local god of Ombos, he later became god of the whole of Upper Egypt.

In later times, perhaps, because he was associated from the first with the desert and hence with foreign peoples, Set was considered the god of the Delta, being identified with the foreign god Sutekh. This gave rise to such confusions as are to be found in a text of the reign of Mentuhotep III where Lower Egypt is assigned to Set and Upper Egypt to Horus. But Sesostri I reversed this. And even as early as the Old Kingdom Set is associated with the East while Horus is assigned to the West (BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkm. d. Sahurê* II, Bl. 5). As such Set is known as the god of the Asiatics.

Just as Horus became god of Lower Egypt, so Set became god of Upper Egypt. When, however, the Falcon became powerful in Upper Egypt strife arose between the two gods, but in time reconciliation was brought about. It was this reconciliation—or perhaps it may have been the earlier friendly dwelling together of Set and Horus in Upper Egypt—which gave rise to the theory that Horus and Set were brothers,

and to references to them as the *nbwy*, "two lords" (cf. PT 141d), or the "two gods" (*ntrwy*). At any rate, in the Pyramid Texts, Horus and Set are now at peace, now at war. But it was among the Heliopolitan theologians that the degradation of Set began, and he became the hostile brother of Osiris and enemy of Horus. In reality, originally Set had nothing to do with Osiris.

Set like Horus was originally, then, an indigenous god, Horus, representing, it seems, the Semitico-Libyans, and Set representing the Hamitico-Libyans.

The most popular god in Egypt was Osiris. Many modern attempts have been made to account for this deity. Some scholars insist that he is African, others that he came from Lower Egypt, others that he came from Libya, and still others that he is Semitic. Some say that he was a nature-god, an earth-god, a tree-spirit, the personification of the yearly vicissitudes of nature, especially a corn- and vegetable-god; others say Osiris was the Nile, that he was a water-god. All these ideas emphasise the thought that Osiris was, or became, the personification of the principle of life. He was known in the time of the Pyramid Texts as a god of the dead (PT Ut. 534), and as a god of resurrection and lord of the nether-world (PT 8d). He has been called a sun-god, a moon-god, and a bull-god. Frazer, especially, has argued that Osiris was a personification of the dead-kingship. One thing is certain, and that is that Osiris was a very popular god, so popular that he had heaped upon him the attributes of many gods. Indeed, the Egyptians themselves called him *neb-er-zer* "lord of everything."

One of the oldest literary references to Osiris is to be found in the Pyramid Texts. In PT 614 an invocation to Osiris contains this phrase; "Horus has made thee to live in thy name Anzti" (cf. the later text PT 648 where Khenti-Amentiu is substituted). This leads us to the Delta, for an early god in the eastern Delta was Anzti (*nd.ty*) "he of the eastern nome" (PT 220c, 1833d). His ensign was a shepherd's crook and flail. Apparently he became god of what was later the city of Busiris, and assumed a new symbol, the symbol of his new city, the Ded (*dd*). The original name of Busiris was Dedu, the city of the Ded. There is a good deal of uncertainty as to what this Ded is. But perhaps it is best described as a post, or tree with branches lopped off (cf. PT 1751). Thus, the Ded seems to have been the ensign or totem of a tree-god.

Now it seems that Osiris was the inheritor of Anzti, taking his place, installed as the "chief who presides over the eastern nomes," and

assuming all the power and insignia of the ancient god. As the Ded seems to have a Semitic origin, and Osiris is so closely bound up with the Ded, it is thought that Osiris was a Semite. Indeed, there is much to corroborate that. At any rate, he represented the pure Semitic element in the people of Egypt. Anzti disappears from historical and religious texts after the Pyramid age, and from all nomes except the ninth of Lower Egypt. He was replaced everywhere by Osiris, and even the ninth nome called itself the "house of Osiris, lord of the Ded." The eighth nome of Upper Egypt took as its ensign the two feathers of Anzti, and the eighth nome is Thinis (Abydos) where Osiris installed himself in Upper Egypt. In time Osiris became lord of the whole eastern Delta.

It is suggested that it was Osiris, who was the god of the Asiatics and who brought into Egypt the new culture in the predynastic age. At any rate, tradition has it that Osiris taught his people agriculture and other peaceful arts, gave them laws and taught them to worship the gods. The crook and flail of eastern nomads, at first the property of Anzti, became the symbols of Osiris, the nomad-god.

When Osiris migrated southward, he established himself at Thinis (Abydos). The original god here was Khenti-Amentiu, or his variant, Wepwet, a jackal-god. Now Khenti-Amentiu was, it seems, the counterpart of the dead Anher of Thinis. However, this may be, Osiris now became the Khenti-Amentiu.

The famous legends, preserved by Plutarch, about Osiris, Isis, and Horus, may have had their origin in the actual experiences of Athothi, second king of the First Dynasty (see WEIGALL, *A History of the Pharaohs* I, iii ff.), and were applied to the Lower Egyptian god, who had migrated southward. This would account for the belief that Osiris was buried at Abydos (Thinis).

Thus, Osiris was perhaps a foreign Asiatic god, who represented the new culture in the predynastic age, and whose followers established themselves at first in the Delta and later at Thinis where they became closely related to the Falcon people. Osiris himself strongly appealed to the imagination of the Egyptian people and as early as the Pyramid age he disputed with Re their allegiance.

There was never any doubt about the character of Re. He was always a sun-god. From the beginning of his career at Heliopolis, he was very powerful. Nine-tenths of the myths of ancient Egypt are cosmic in origin and a large proportion of them have to do with sun-worship.

From the time of Reneb of the Second Dynasty until the Sixth Dynasty Re was very powerful in the political affairs of Egypt. This was especially so during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, when many of the kings included in their name the name of the sun-god.

The great centre of Re-worship was at Heliopolis, the old city On. But Re was not the original god of On. The ensign of On was a sort of pillar (*iwn*), from which the name On came, and which was undoubtedly in time worshipped as a God, under some such form as An. At a later period, the deity worshipped at On was called Atum, probably an ichneumon totem. How Re came to make his abode in On is not known. It is thought, because of his characteristics, he came from Asia, and brought with him a solar religion. There are reasons for believing that the people of On, the Iwntiu, were themselves originally Semitic or Mediterranean, and brought with them their own religious customs. There is a bare possibility that Re was a Mediterranean god because of the close similarities between his cult object and those of Crete (cf. PEET in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, p. 256). Re is often represented as rising out of the eastern ocean and disappearing in the western ocean, an idea which would be appropriate for such a country as Crete.

Although Re had no developed cult in Egypt before the Fifth Dynasty, during that dynasty the religion of Re became the state religion and the king was thought to be the son of Re. The religion made such rapid progress that the very groundwork of the Pyramid Texts consists of sun-worship. Then the priests of Heliopolis developed a solar theology which never lost its hold upon Egypt's religious thinking. These theologians have been thought to have been Semitic in thought, though they may have been Mediterranean. At any rate, solar theology became so compelling that each local cult attempted to work the sun-god into its myth.

Finally, our study has led us to believe that originally Horus the Falcon-god was indigenous, representing the Semitico-Libyan race of the Delta; Set was indigenous also, representing the Hamitic-Libyan people, inhabiting different parts of Egypt, especially the desert regions. Osiris was an Asiatic or Semitic god; and Re was also an Asiatic or Semitic god, or possibly a Mediterranean god. Their chronological order is perhaps Horus, Set, Osiris, and Re, and their original homes in Egypt were: Horus in the western Delta, Set in Upper Egypt, Osiris in the eastern Delta, and Re in the eastern Delta, at the border land between Upper and Lower Egypt.

DER TOSEPHTATRAKTAT *MO'ED KATAN*

Von EUGEN LUDWIG RAPP, Pirmasens

Längere Beschäftigung mit dem Traktate *Mo'ed Katan*, mit der Mischna sowohl wie mit beiden Talmuden, zeigte mir, von welcher Wichtigkeit in archäologischer und philologischer Hinsicht gerade diese kleinen, eigentlich ziemlich wenig beachteten Traktate sind. F. Z. LAUTERBACH schreibt in der *Jewish Encyclopedia* darüber: "The Mishnah to this treatise, like its Tosefta, which is divided into two chapters, contains much important matter relating to Jewish social life, such as information regarding furniture and tools, housework and agriculture, public institutions, and mourning customs." Ist nun die Mischna aus obigen Gründen interessant, so gilt das in noch höherem Maße für die Tosephta.

Für das Verhältnis der Mischna zur Tosephta, wie für das eigentliche kommentatorische Material, möchte ich auf meinen in der Töpelmannschen Ausgabe der Mischna von BEER und HOLTZMANN in einiger Zeit erscheinenden Mischnatraktat *Mo'ed Katan* hinweisen. Im folgenden möchte ich von der Tosephta nur den hebräischen Text und die Übersetzung in kürzester Form bieten.

Bei der Herstellung des Textes legte ich durchweg die Zuckermandelsche Ausgabe zugrunde, die ich freilich auf Grund des kritischen Apparates um alle die Zusätze der bekannten älteren Drucke vermehrte und bei der ich einige Formen durch die mir besser überliefert erscheinenden ersetzte.

Für die Verseinteilung behalte ich der Gebräuchlichkeit halber die der Erfurter Handschrift bei, füge jedoch die der Drucke in runder Klammer und die des Blasius Ugolini in eckiger Klammer hinzu, da sie den Text inhaltlich richtiger abteilen.

Die erklärenden Zusätze in eckiger Klammer in der deutschen Übersetzung sind von mir eingefügt.

מועד קטן

א.

1. מעיין היוצא בתחלה משקין הימנו בית הבעל דברי רבי מאיר וחכמים אומרים אין משקין הימנו אלא שדה בית השלחין שחרבה רבי אלעזר בן עזריה אומר אין משקין הימנו ואין ממליץ הימנו בקילון אפילו מן הבריכה שנתמלאת בקילון אבל בריכה שניטופה משדה בית השלחין משקין הימנו רבי שמעון בן מנסיא אומר שתי בריכות זו על גבי זו לא יזלף מן התחתונה לעליונה ומשקה אבל משקה הוא מן העליונה לתחתונה וישקה דבי אלעזר בן רבי שמעון אומר ערוגה שמקצתה נמוך ומקצתה על הגבוה לא יזלף מן הנמוך שבה לגבוה שבה וישקה אבל מזלף הוא מן הגבוה שבה על הנמוך שבה ומשקה: חושש:

2. מרצפין שדה בית השלחין במועד אילו הן עוגיות אילו בדידין שבעיקרי אילנות מותרין ומשמשיין בקנים דבר האבד עושין אותו במועד דבר שאינו אבד אין עושין אותו במועד מוכר אדם עוגתו של מים לגוי ומחליף עמו מושבת למוצאי שבת ואינו חושש:

3. אין חופרין בורות שיחין ומערות במועד אבל מתקנין אותן אמר רבי נראי דברי רבי יהודה במועד ודברי חכמים בשביעית:

4. כיצד היה רבי יהודה אומר בשדה לבן שלא כדרכו תוחב בשפוד ומכה בקרדום ומרירי אדמה תחתיה אמר רבי שמעון בן אלעזר וכי באינו שדה לבן היה רבי מאיר אומר בשדה הסמוכה לשדה בית השלחין ולא בשדה הסמוכה לשדה בית האילן:

5. מחריבין חורי נמלים במועד כיצד מחריבין חורי נמלים רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר נוטל אדם עפר מחורו של זה ונותן לתוך חורו של זה והן מחנקין זה את זה:

6. מרביצין מים על גבי פשתן מפני העקרב ונחול של דבורים שכרח מחזירין אותו למקומו:

7. מי ישהה כותלו גואה לרשות הרבים סותרו ובונה אותו מפני סכנת נפשות חומת העיר שנפרצה גודרין אותה גדרה ונפרצה אין גודרין אותה אם היתה סמוכה לספר סותרה ובונה כדרכו:

8. רואין את הנגעים להקל אבל לא להחמיר דברי רבי מאיר רבי יוסי אומר אינו נזקק לו להחמיר אבל נזקק לו להקל אמר רבי נראי דברי רבי יוסי במוסגר ודברי רבי מאיר במוחלט:

9. איזהו חינוך הקברות מאריך בה ומרחיב בה זו היא נברכת וזה הוא בקיע ומורה דבי יהודה בסיד שיכול לגומרו ישפדין אותו במועד:

10. אין מקדשין נשים במועד ורבי יהודה מתיר ששא יקדמנו אחר מגרשין ומטאנין וחולצין ומיבטין במועד מלקט אדם עצים ועשבים בין משלו ובין משל חבירו ובלבד שלא יעשה אומן:

11. אין מוחנין במועד דבר האבד עושין אותו במועד ושאינו אבד אין עושין אותו במועד כמה דברים אומרים בתלוש אבל במחובר אפילו דבר האבד אין עושין אותו במועד אם אין לו מה יאכל קוצר ומעמר ודש ובלבד שלא ידוש בפרות:

ב.

1. לוקחין מן הגוים בתים ידות וכרמים בהמה עבדים ושפחות מפני שהוא כמציג מידם וכותב ומעלה בערכאין ואם היה כהן מטמא להם לערער ולדון עליהן בחוצה לארץ בשם שמטמא בחוצה לארץ כך מטמא בבית הקברות מטמא לתלמוד תורה ומטמא לישא אשה רבי יהודה אומר אם יש לו שם מי שילמד הרי זה לא יטמא ואם לאו הרי זה יטמא רבי יוסי אומר אף על פי שיש לו שם ממי שילמד הרי זה יטמא שאין מכל אדם זוכה אדם ללמוד אלא ממי שזכה לו:

2. כל אלו שאמרו מספרין במועד מותר לספר בתוך שלשים יום של אבל אף על פי שהתירו לו לספר לא יספר ברשות הרבים אלא בצינעה כל אלו שאמרו מכבסין במועד מותרין לכבס בתוך שלשים יום של אבל אף על פי שהתירו לו לכבס לא יוליד כליו לכובס אלא מכבס בצינעה בתוך ביתו וכשם שאסור לספר ולכבס כך אסור ליטול ציפורניים דברי רבי יהודה ורבי יוסי מתיר וכן היה רבי יהודה אומר הבאין מחוץ הים וממדינת הים אסורין לספר ולכבס וחכמים מתירין אמר רבי נראין דברי רבי יהודה בזמן שלא נטל רשות ודברי חכמים בזמן שנטל רשות:

3. אין כותבין שטרי ארסיות וקבלות במועד רבי יהודה מתיר שמה יקדמנו אחר:

4. כותב אדם השבנותיו במועד ומחשב אדם יציאותיו במועד:

5. מקבלין קיבולת במועד במוצאי מועד ובלבד שלא ימנה ולא ישקול ולא ימדוד בדרך שעושה בחול:

6. הקובר את מתו שני ימים קודם לרגל מונה חמשה אחר הרגל והרבים מתעסקין בו ומלאכתו נעשית על ידי אחרים ועבדיו ושפחותיו עושין בצינעה אצל אחרים:

7. הקובר את מתו שלשה ימים מתוך הרגל מונה שבעה אחר הרגל ארבעה הראשונים הרבים מתעסקין בו שלשה האחרונים אין הרבים מתעסקין בו לפי שאין הרגל עולה לו שיתעסקו בו הרבים ומלאכתו נעשית על ידי אחרים ועבדיו ושפחותיו עושין בצינעה אצל אחרים:

8. הקובר את מתו שמונה (שבעה) ימים קודם לרגל מספר בערב הרגל לא סיפר בערב הרגל אסור לספר עד שיעברו עליו שלשים יום אף על פי שאין הרגל עולה לו לספירת שבעה עולה לו לספירת שלשים:

9. מי שקיים כפיית המיטה שלשה ימים קודם לרגל לא יכפה לאחר הרגל רבי אליעזר בן יעקב אומר אפילו יום אחד רבי אלעזר בן רבי שמעון אומר בית שמאי אומר שלשה ימים ובית הלל אומר אפילו שעה אחת בערב שבת זוקף את מיטתו ובמוצאי שבת כופה אפילו לא נשתיר לו אלא יום אחד בלבד אין אבל רשאי שיתאכל במועד אבל נוהג בצינעה בתוך ביתו:

10. שותין מי זבלים ומי דקלים וכוס עיקרין במועד בראשונה היו אומרים אין שותין מי זבלים ומי דקלים וכוס עיקרין במועד עד שבא רבי עקיבא ולימד ששותין מי זבלים ומי דקלים וכוס עיקרין:

11. מקיזין דס לבהמה ולחיה ולעופות ואין מונעין רפואה מן הבהמה במועד בהמה שתבעה את הזכר אין מרביעין אותה אבל מורידין אותה לבקרות רבי יהודה אומר חמורה שתובעת את הזכר מרביעין אותה בשביל שלא תצין ושאר כל הבהמה מורידין אותה לבקרות אין מרביעין במועד ואין מרביעין בחול בכבוד ובפסולי המוקדשין ודיני דיני ממונות ודיני נפשות ודיני קנסות ושורפין את הפרה ועורפין את העגלה ורוצעין עבד עברי [ופורדין את הערכין ואת החרמים ואת ההקדשות ואת מעשר השני] ופורקין מנעל מן האימום ובלבד שלא יחזיר:

12. מכבש של כובס שהתירו מערב יום טוב נוטלין הימנו ואין מחזירין לו ושל בעלי בתים מחזירין לו ואין צריך לומר נוטלין הימנו:

13. חנות פתוחה לסמיו פותח ונועל כדרכו היתה פתוחה לרשות הרבים פותח אחד ונועל אחד ובערב יום טוב האחרון של חג מוציא ומעמר את כל השוק:

14. יושבין על ספסל של גוים בשבת בראשונה היו אומרים אין יושבין על ספסל של גוים בשבת עד שבא רבי עקיבא ולימד שיושבין על ספסל של גוים בשבת:

15. מעשה ברבן גמליאל שהיה יושב על ספסל של גוים בשבת בעכו אמרו לו אין נוהגין כן להיות יושבין על ספסל של גוים בשבת לא רצה לומר להם מותרין אתם אלא עמד והלך לו מעשה ביהודה והילל בנו של רבן גמליאל שנכנסו לרחוק בכבול אמרו להן אין נוהגין כאן להיות רוחצין שני אחין כאחד ולא רצו לומר להם מותרים אתם אלא נכנסו ורחצו זה אחר זה:

16. ישוב מעשה ביהודה והילל בנו של רבן גמליאל שהיו יוצאין בקורדקסין בשבת בבירי אמרו להם אין נוהגין כן להיות יוצאין בקורדקסין בשבת ולא רצו לומר להם מותרין אתם אלא שלחום ביד עבדיהם:

17. חכם שמת הכל קרוביו הכל קורעין עליו הכל חולצין הכל סופדין הכל מברין עליו אפילו ברחבה של עיר אין מוליכין חלילין לבית האבל אבל מוליכין לבית המשתה ולבית השמחה למקום שנהגו איזה הוא הספר על לב שנאמר על ישרים סופדים מיפוח בידים קילום זה פישוט וזרעות:

סליק פירקא וסליק מסכתא

Kapitel I

I 1 [I 1]. Mit einer Quelle, die zum ersten Male läuft, darf man ein Feld mit natürlicher Bewässerung bewässern; so die Worte Rabbi Meirs. Die Gelehrten sind dagegen der Ansicht, daß man damit nur ein Feld mit künstlicher Bewässerung, das ausgetrocknet ist, bewässern darf. Rabbi Elazar, der Sohn Azarjas, sagt: Man darf weder bewässern damit, noch darf man daraus mit einer Schöpfvorrichtung¹ schöpfen, sogar nicht aus einem Teiche, der mit einer Schöpfvorrichtung gefüllt

¹ קילון ist das griechische κήλων, eigentlich Brunnenschwengel, dann übertragen auch Kanal.

wurde. Dagegen darf man aus einem Teiche bewässern, dessen Zufluß aus einem Felde mit künstlicher Bewässerung kommt. [I 2] Rabbi Schimeon, der Sohn Menasjas, sagt: Wenn zwei Teiche übereinander liegen, so darf man nicht das Wasser aus dem unteren in den oberen schaffen und auf diese Weise bewässern, aber man darf das Wasser aus dem oberen in den unteren leiten und so bewässern.² Rabbi Elazar, der Sohn des Rabbi Schimeon (Rabbi Schimeon, der Sohn des Elazar), sagt: Bei einem Beet, dessen einer Teil niedriger und dessen anderer Teil höher liegt, darf man kein Wasser aus seinem unteren Teil in seinen oberen fließen lassen und es auf diese Weise bewässern.

I 2. Man darf an Halbfeiertagen ein Feld mit künstlicher Bewässerung pflastern. Das heißt: Bewässerungsrinnen und Gräben, die sich an den Wurzeln der Bäume befinden. [I 3] Man darf seinen Wassergraben dem Nichtjuden vermieten³ und man darf mit ihm tauschen vom Sabbat bis zum Ausgange des Sabbats, ohne Bedenken.

I 3. Man darf keine Gruben, keine Zisternen und Höhlen graben, aber man darf sie ausbessern. Rabbi⁴ sagt: Einleuchtend sind die Worte Rabbi Jehudas für die Halbfeiertage, die der Gelehrten für das Siebentjahr.

I 4. Inwiefern sagte Rabbi Jehuda: Auf einem Getreidefeld darf man auf ungewöhnliche Weise pflügen, indem man einen Spieß hineinsteckt, mit dem Grabscheit daraufschlägt und die Erde darunter niederstampft. Rabbi Schimeon, der Sohn Elazars, sagte: Um welches Getreidefeld dreht es sich? Rabbi Meir (Rabbi Jehuda⁵) sagte: Um ein Feld, das hart an einem Felde mit künstlicher Bewässerung liegt, aber nicht um eines, das an ein Baumfeld grenzt.

I 5 [I 4]. Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen Ameisenhaufen zerstören. Wie darf man Ameisenhaufen zerstören? Rabban Schimeon, der Sohn Gamliels, sagt: Man nimmt vom Sande des einen Ameisenhaufens und tut ihn in den anderen, so daß sie sich einander umbringen.⁶

I 6. Man darf Flachs mit Wasser besprengen, wegen des Skorpions. Ferner darf man einen schwärmenden Bienenschwarm an seinen Ort zurückbringen.

² Hier, wie in vielen folgenden Fällen, sind nur solche Arbeiten verboten, die zuviel Mühe verursachen würden.

³ Da man befürchtet, er könne, wenn er so lange außer Gebrauch ist, austrocknen.

⁴ Gemeint ist Rabbi Jehuda Hannasi.

⁵ Die Namen, die eingeklammert stehen, sind die der Drucke, im Gegensatz zur Erfurter Handschrift.

⁶ Dieses Beispiel zeugt von feiner Naturbeobachtung.

I 7 [I 5]. Wenn jemand eine Wand hat, die sich nach einem öffentlichen Platze vorbeugt, so darf er sie einreißen und wieder aufbauen, wegen der Lebensgefahr. Wenn eine Stadtmauer eine Bresche bekommen hat, darf man sie zumauern; wenn man sie aber zumauert und sie bekommt wieder eine Bresche, darf man sie nicht wieder zumauern. Steht sie nahe an der Grenze, so darf man sie einreißen und wieder aufbauen wie gewöhnlich.

I 8 [I 6]. Man darf Aussatz besehen zur Erleichterung, nicht aber zur Erschwerung; dies die Worte Rabbi Meirs. Rabbi Jose aber sagte: Man ist nicht verpflichtet zur Erschwerung, aber zur Erleichterung ist man verpflichtet. Rabbi sagte: Einleuchtend sind die Worte Rabbi Joses (Meirs) für einen vorläufig eingeschlossenen⁷ Kranken und die Worte Rabbi Meirs (Joses) für einen endgültig als aussätzig Erklärten.

I 9. Wie ist die Einweihung der Gräber? Wenn man sie verlängert und erweitert. Das ist wie bei einer Waschgrube und diese wiederum gleich einem kleinen Teiche. Rabbi Jehuda stimmt zu bei Kalk, den man fertigmachen kann, um mit ihm an den Halbfeiertagen [Gräber] zu bezeichnen.⁸

I 10 [I 7]. Man darf sich keine Frauen antrauen lassen an den Halbfeiertagen, während es Rabbi Jehuda erlaubt, damit ihm kein anderer zuvorkomme. Man darf sich scheiden lassen, seine Heiratsweigerung und die Verweigerung der Schwagerehe kundgeben und die Schwagerehe vollziehen an den Halbfeiertagen. Man darf ferner Holz und Kräuter sammeln, sowohl von seinem Eigentum wie auch von dem seines Nächsten, nur darf man es nicht im großen tun.⁹

I 11. Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen nicht mahlen, was aber der Verderbnis ausgesetzt ist, darf man an den Halbfeiertagen zu Ende führen, was aber der Verderbnis nicht ausgesetzt ist, darf man an den Halbfeiertagen nicht tun. Wovon gilt dies? Von bereits Herausgerissenem. Doch das, was noch am Boden haftet, darf man an den Halbfeiertagen nicht verarbeiten, selbst wenn es der Verderbnis ausgesetzt ist. [I 8] Wenn man nichts zu essen hat, darf man ernten, Garben binden und dreschen; nur darf man nicht mit Kühen dreschen.

⁷ d. h. in Quarantäne befindlichen.

⁸ Diese etwas dunkle Stelle übersetzt Blasius Ugolini folgendermaßen: (Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum, Bd. XVIII, Venetiis MDCCCLV) Quenam est dedicatio sepulcrorum? Quando hic dilatat, et ibi producat: Quenam est piscina? Haec est fossa. Assentitur R. Jose in calce, quod possit perfici caementatio in diebus festi intermedii. Siehe hierzu die Gemara des Jerusalemischen Talmuds, 6. הלכה (1). איזהו חינוך קברות רבי : (1).
usw. יומי בר נהויאי אשר סדר בסיד :

⁹ Dies steht ziemlich eindeutig als Parallele zu Mischna I 5 : מלקט אדם עשירות אביו ואמו :

Kapitel II

II 1 (I 12). Man darf von den Nichtjuden Häuser, Felder, Weinberge, Vieh, Knechte und Mägde kaufen, weil man in diesem Falle ist, wie einer, der etwas aus ihrer Hand rettet. Man darf ein Dokument schreiben und es auf das [nichtjüdische] Gerichtsamt¹⁰ tragen. Wenn er ein Priester ist, darf er sich ihretwegen verunreinigen, um Einspruch zu erheben vor Gericht und um Prozeß zu führen gegen sie im Ausland. Ebenso, wie er sich im Auslande verunreinigen darf, darf er sich auch auf dem Friedhofe verunreinigen. Ferner darf er sich verunreinigen für das Studium des Gesetzes und um zu heiraten. Rabbi Jehuda sagt: Wenn er einen hat an seiner Stelle, der lehrt, darf er sich nicht verunreinigen, wenn aber nicht, so darf er sich verunreinigen. Rabbi Jose sagt: Sogar deshalb, daß er dort einen hat, von dem er lernen kann, darf er sich verunreinigen, denn nicht von jedermann kann man lernen; sondern nur von dem, der würdig erfunden wird.

II 2 [II 1] (II 1).¹¹ All die, von denen die Gelehrten gesagt haben, daß sie sich an den Halbfeiertagen die Haare schneiden dürfen, dürfen sie sich innerhalb der dreißig Trauertage schneiden lassen; aber obgleich es einem erlaubt ist, daß man sich die Haare schneiden lasse, so darf man es nicht öffentlich tun, sondern im geheimen. All diejenigen, von denen die Gelehrten gesagt haben, daß sie waschen dürfen an den Halbfeiertagen, dürfen innerhalb der dreißig Trauertage waschen; obgleich es einem erlaubt ist, daß man wasche, darf man die Gewänder nicht zum Wäscher schaffen, sondern man wäscht im geheimen innerhalb seines Hauses, und ebenso, wie es verboten ist, das Haar zu schneiden und zu waschen, ebenso ist es verboten, die Fingernägel zu schneiden; so die Worte Rabbi Jehudas. Rabbi Jose dagegen erlaubt es. Ferner sagte Rabbi Jehuda: Diejenigen, die vom Meeresstrande oder von der See kommen, dürfen weder das Haar schneiden noch waschen. Die Gelehrten aber erlauben es. Rabbi sagte: Einleuchtend sind die Worte Rabbi Jehudas, sobald er keine Erlaubnis eingeholt hat, und die Worte der Gelehrten, sobald er die Erlaubnis eingeholt hat.

¹⁰ Um es bescheinigen zu lassen. — עֲרֵבָאן oder עֲרֵבִים von עָרַב = ἀρχαί, bzw. ἀρχεῖον, Regierungsgebäude, Regierungsamt.

¹¹ Das zweite Kapitel beginnt sicher hier erst, weil sich dieser Satz inhaltlich an den Anfang des dritten Kapitels der Mischna anschließt und das kleine zweite Kapitel der Mischna in der zweiten Hälfte des ersten Toseptakapitels behandelt wird.

II 3 [II 2] (II 2). Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen keine Pachtverträge und Übernahmebestätigungen schreiben; Rabbi Jehuda erlaubt es, damit ihm kein anderer zuvorkomme.

II 4 (II 3). Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen seine Rechnungen aufschreiben und seine Ausgaben berechnen.

II 5 (II 4). Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen und am Ausgange der Halbfeiertage Übernahmen vornehmen, man darf nur nicht zählen, wiegen oder messen, in der Weise, wie man am Tage vor dem Feste verfährt.

II 6 [II 3] (II 5). Wer seinen Toten zwei Tage vor einem Wallfahrtsfeste begräbt, zählt nach dem Feste noch fünf Tage, und die Versammlung beschäftigt sich mit ihm und seine Arbeit wird durch andere verrichtet, seine Knechte und seine Mägde dürfen bei anderen heimlich arbeiten.

II 7 (II 6). Wer seinen Toten drei Tage vor seinem Wallfahrtsfeste begräbt, zählt noch sieben Tage nach dem Feste; während der vier ersten Tage beschäftigt sich die Versammlung mit ihm, während der drei letzten Tage aber nicht. Weil ihm das Fest nicht angerechnet wird, beschäftigt sich die Versammlung mit ihm und seine Arbeit wird durch andere verrichtet, seine Knechte und seine Mägde dürfen bei anderen heimlich arbeiten.

II 8 [II 4] (II 7). Wer seinen Toten acht (sieben¹²) Tage vor einem Wallfahrtsfeste begräbt, darf sich am Rüsttage des Festes das Haar schneiden lassen, hat er aber am Rüsttage des Festes das Haar nicht schneiden lassen, so darf er es nicht eher tun, als bis dreißig Tage vorübergegangen sind. Obgleich ihm das Fest für die sieben Tage nicht gerechnet wird, wird es ihm für die dreißig Tage gerechnet.

II 9 (II 8). Wer das Umstürzen der Bahre drei Tage vor dem Feste vollzogen hat, darf es nicht nach dem Feste tun. Rabbi Eliezer, der Sohn Jaakobs, sagt: Auch nicht einen Tag. Rabbi Elazar, der Sohn des Rabbi Schimeon, sagt im Namen der Schule Schammaj: Drei Tage, und die Schule Hillels: Auch nicht eine Stunde. Am Rüsttage des Sabbats darf man sein Bett aufstellen und am Ausgange des Sabbats darf man es umstürzen, selbst wenn ihm auch nur ein Tag geblieben ist. [II 5] Trauer ist nicht so erlaubt, daß man es an den Halbfeiertagen [öffentlich] tue, sondern man soll es heimlich innerhalb seines Hauses tun.

¹² So die Drucke und Bl. Ugolini.

II 10 (II 9). Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen Jauche, Dattelpalmenwasser und einen Becher mit Wurzelsäften¹³ trinken. Zuerst sagten sie, man dürfe Jauche, Dattelpalmenwasser und einen Becher mit Wurzelsäften nicht trinken an den Halbfeiertagen, bis Rabbi Aqiba kam und lehrte, daß man Jauche, Dattelpalmenwasser und einen Becher mit Wurzelsäften trinken dürfe.

II 11 [II 6] (II 10). Man darf Haustiere, Tiere und Vögel zur Ader lassen und man enthält an den Halbfeiertagen dem Vieh die Heilung nicht vor. Ein Stück Vieh, das brünstig ist, darf man nicht sich paaren lassen, aber man darf es in den Viehstall führen. Rabbi Jehuda sagt: Eine Eselin, die brünstig ist, darf man zur Paarung lassen, damit sie nicht erkaltet, alles andere Vieh führt man in den Viehstall. Man darf an den Halbfeiertagen und ebensowenig an den Werktagen nicht durch die Erstgeburt und nicht durch die für die Weihung untauglichen Tiere paaren lassen. [II 7] Man darf das Verfahren eines Zivilprozesses, eines Kapitalverbrechens und eines Geldstrafprozesses führen. Man darf die [rote] Kuh¹⁴ verbrennen und dem Kalbe das Genick brechen;¹⁵ ferner darf man einem jüdischen Sklaven das Ohr durchbohren, und man darf einen Schuh vom Leisten herunternehmen, darf ihn aber nicht wieder [auf den Leisten] zurücklegen.

II 12 (II 11). Aus der Presse des Wäschers, die man am Rüsttage des Feiertags geöffnet hat, darf man herausnehmen, aber nicht wieder zurücklegen. In die von Privatleuten aber darf man zurücklegen, und es ist nicht notwendig zu sagen, daß man also davon herausnehmen darf.

II 13 (II 12) [II 8]. Einen nach einer Säulenhalle¹⁶ hin gerichteten Laden darf man öffnen und schließen wie gewöhnlich. Ist er aber nach der Öffentlichkeit hin gerichtet, so öffnet ihn einer und einer schließt ihn.¹⁷ Und am Rüsttage des letzten Feiertags darf man Sachen herausnehmen und den ganzen Marktbasar damit schmücken.¹⁸

II 14 (II 13). Man darf auf einer Bank¹⁹ von Nichtjuden sitzen am Sabbat. Zuerst sagten die Gelehrten: Man darf am Sabbat nicht auf

¹³ Als Medizinern, z. B. זבלים zur Verhütung der Empfängnis.

¹⁴ Siehe den Traktat מורה!

¹⁵ Bei der Gelegenheit einer vor der Stadt gefundenen Leiche.

¹⁶ סטיו = στοά, στοιά pl. סטיון = Säulenhalle, Fußboden.

¹⁷ Nimmt man die Schreibung אמת — אמת, so bezieht sich dieses Fem. auf ein zu erg. זיל und es muß übersetzt werden: „... so öffnet und schließt man einen Türflügel nach dem andern“.

¹⁸ Für das Fest.

¹⁹ סטיו gr. m. σψέλλιον = Bank, Sessel; σφέλας, subsellium.

einer Bank von Nichtjuden sitzen, bis Rabbi Akiba kam und lehrte, man dürfe am Sabbat auf einer Bank von Nichtjuden sitzen.

II 15 (II 14). Es geschah, daß Rabban Gamliel am Sabbat auf einer Bank von Nichtjuden saß in Akko. Da sagte man zu ihm: Es ist nicht üblich, am Sabbat auf einer Bank von Nichtjuden zu sitzen. Er wollte ihnen aber nicht sagen: Ihr dürft es, sondern er erhob sich und ging. [II 9] Es geschah, daß Jehuda und Hillel, die Söhne des Rabban Gamliel, nach Kabul zum Baden gingen. Da sagte man ihnen: Es ist nicht üblich, daß zwei Brüder zusammen baden. Sie wollten ihnen aber nicht sagen: Ihr dürft es, sondern sie gingen hinein und badeten nacheinander.

II 16 (II 15). Wiederum geschah, daß Jehuda und Hillel, die Söhne des Rabban Gamliel, am Sabbat hinausgingen mit Lederschuh²⁰ in Beraj. Man sagte ihnen: Es ist nicht üblich, am Sabbat in Lederschuh hinauszu-gehen. Sie wollten ihnen aber nicht sagen: Ihr dürft es, sondern schickten sie durch ihre Diener.

II 17 [II 10] (II 16). Wenn ein Gelehrter stirbt, so sind alle seine Verwandten; alle zerreißen das Gewand über ihm, alle entblößen die Schulter, alle klagen, alle nehmen das Trauermahl bei ihm ein, selbst auf einem öffentlichen Platze der Stadt. Man darf keine Flöten in ein Trauerhaus mitnehmen, aber in ein Hochzeitshaus und zu einer sonstigen freudigen Gelegenheit, zu einem Orte, wo das üblich ist.

Worin besteht die Trauerklage durch Schlagen an die Brust?, wie es heißt: [Jes. 32. V. 12] „Klagt über die Brüste!“,²¹ das ist Schlagen mit den Händen. *kitūs*²² bedeutet: „Ausstrecken der Arme.“²³

Verbesserung:

Vol. XI, S. 146 muß es Z. 4 v. u. heißen: ΤΟΤΕ ΡΩΝ ΑΥΜΟ2 Ν-; außerdem fehlt S. 148 Z. 9 v. u. in المجيد das 1.

²⁰ קורדיסין = καρδιδισιον, dem. von καρδικος. In einigen Texten der Zusatz זהב golden; also mit Gold verzierte Lederschuhe. — Bl. Ugolini faßt כק als „in lecticis aureis“, in goldenen Sänften, auf.

²¹ Die Tosephta beruft sich hier auf eine Stelle, die falsch überliefert ist; על שדיים ist ein Schreibfehler für על שדיה, was durch 21 Handschriften belegt ist.

²² Für קילוס steht auch קילוס.

²³ Um sie aneinanderzuschlagen.

THE SILVER STANDARD IN SUMER AND ACCAD

By S. LANGDON, Oxford University

A LARGE number of business documents from Ellasar have been published by the late Miss. E. M. GRICE, *Yale Oriental Series*, Vol. V, and by Père C. F. JEAN, *Textes Cunéiformes*, Vol. X, *Musée du Louvre*, which contain a peculiar kind of document, the values of commodities being fixed by the *silver shekel*. The most important tablets are GRICE, No. 207 and JEAN, No. 17. Also ED. CHIERA, *Cuneiform Tablets in the Library of Princeton University, Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem*, No. 1, is a prime source for studying economic values based on the silver standard, in the time of the last dynasty of Ur. CHIERA, No. 1, is undoubtedly from Duraihim (Drehem) and is dated in the 8th year of Bur-Sin of Ur. The Ellasar tablets belong to the reign of Rim-Sin and reveal practically the same market values as those at Duraihim more than two centuries earlier.

The Ellasar tablets denote the market value by the Sumerian word *kár* = *kâru*, wall, then "market place," ASKT. 58 II 10-6; C.T. 12, 11 A 23. For example in GRICE 207, 1-3, occurs the entry 120 *gur* *še-giš-ia kár-bi* 75 *sil-ta*. Here the silver standard is implicitly implied, i.e., 75 *sil* or *ka* are valued at 1 silver shekel, hence 120 *gur* or 36,000 *ka* are worth 8 *mana*, as the scribe states. That *kár* has the meaning "market price," is proved by *ibid.*, l. 7-40 *udu-nitaġ šàm 1 udu-e 1 ġin-ta*, i.e., "Forty male lambs at the price of 1 shekel each," = 40 shekels or $\frac{2}{3}$ *mana*. But cf. JEAN, 72, 19-26; Thirty (so read) lambs, *kár* $\frac{2}{3}$ *ġin*, i.e., at $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel each = 20 shekels = $\frac{1}{3}$ *mana*; Sixty seven lambs, *kár* $\frac{1}{2}$ *ġin* = 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels = $\frac{1}{2}$ *mana* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels; 9 *udu-nitaġ maš-sú*, *kár* $\frac{1}{3}$ *ġin*, Nine rams at market value $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel each = 3 shekels; 99 *ganam kár* $\frac{1}{2}$ *ġin*, i.e., ninety-nine ewes at $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel each = 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels = $\frac{2}{3}$ *mana* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels. There is, therefore, no doubt at all concerning the meaning of *kár*; it is equivalent to *šîmu* price, "market value."

It is possible, then, to obtain from these texts the current values of various commodities. The most important result is the relation of gold to silver, which is so variable that no fixed ratio can be obtained. In JEAN, T.C. X 17, 18 the method of indicating the ratio is to give the value of one unit of the commodity sold in silver, and not, as in other cases, the value of one unit (shekel) of silver in units of the commodity in question.

This would at first sight seem to indicate a gold standard, but the resulting sum is given in silver. So here, 4 shekels of gold are valued at the rate of 9 (silver) shekels to one gold shekel, the result being 36 (silver) shekels. But in T.C. X 72, 2 the ratio is only 4 : 1, i.e., 8 gold shekels are equal to 32 silver shekels. In the period of Dungi, the ratio is known to vary between 10 : 1 and 7 : 1, SCHEIL, R.A. 17, and the highest value in the early period is 10 : 1, but rises to 12 : 1 in the late period. STRASSMAIER, Nbn. 522. See SCHEIL, *ibid.*, 208-9. For ratio 7 : 1, v. T.C. X 17 R. 6. 12. 16; for ratio $6\frac{1}{2}$: 1, v. YOS. V 207, 51; the lowest ratio is 3 : 1, T.C. 72 Obv. 4.

Wool is valued at 10 *manas* per silver shekel, T.C. X 17, 8; YOS. V 207, 4, but in CHIERA, *ibid.*, 1 I 6, at approximately 13 *manas* per shekel. Copper is valued at 6 *mana* per silver shekel or at ratio of 1 : 360; but in CHIERA, *ibid.*, 1 I 13, at approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mana* per shekel. *urudzabar* (*siparru*) has the same market value as *urud* (copper), T.C. X 17, R. 2.

Lead (*an-na*), is valued at 1 silver shekel to 10 shekels of lead, YOS. 207, 42. Oil (NI-GIŠ),¹ is rated at 16 *ka* per shekel, T.C. 87, 4; or 18 *ka* per shekel, 72, 6, and *ia-nun*, grease, invariably at 15 *ka* per shekel, T.C. 17 R. 8. 21; Obv. 21. But *ia-sag*, fine oil (*šamnu ruštu*), is extremely expensive, being valued at $6\frac{1}{18}$ shekels per *ka*, T.C. 72, 8.

In Cappadocia the ratio between lead and silver is 1 : 15, according to *Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum* IV, 17 B (115167). Here lead is purchased at 15 *gín-ta*, where the silver shekel is implicitly understood in the statement. For 2 *manas* of silver the agent purchases 30 *manas* of lead, i.e., 120 shekels of silver = 1800 shekels of lead = 1 : 15.

¹ Sumerian *um*, K. 4561, 3.

SHORT NOTES ON ASSYRIAN RELIGIOUS TEXTS

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York City

1. IMAGES OF LAMBS

In the text GRAY, *Shamash* pl. 11 Rev. 11, we find this rubric *puḫadu an-na-a ellu dišpu teppuš (uš)*. This pure lamb thou shalt prepare with honey. In *Shamash* pl. 12a Rev. 6, we find this verse *an-nu-u ša tak-pir-ti šêni* (these lambs of atonement) cf. also the preceding line.

As these are apparently *šu-íl-la* texts the reference is not to ordinary lambs but to images of lambs. A number of these images, several inches long, have been found by excavators.

2. SAGULLATU, סגולת

In GRAY, *Shamash* pl. 12d, the sixth line is difficult. We would read *e-ku-tum al-mat-tum sá-gul-la-tum ru-ut-tum la ittika iš-taḫ-ḫa-na*. The oppressed, the widow are they not warmed with thee with treasure and friendship. SCHOLLMAYER had read *di-gul-la-tum* which he naturally had to leave untranslated. The word *ruttum* means female friend. An abstract meaning "friendship" seems necessary here.

3. SOME NAMES OF DEMONS

In GRAY, *Shamash* pl. 12d 10, we have a list of ghosts: *utukku*, *rabišu*, *eṭimmu*, *lilu*, *ḫi-mi-ti di-mi-tum šim-ma-tum ši-da-[tum]*. The fourth demon is possibly a fever spirit (cf. חמה heat). Note that it is in Jewish angeology the name of an angel of justice. *dimitum* would be a demon causing a man to be dumb (cf. Lk. 11, 14), *šimmatu* is a demon that wrecks the body, *šidatu* is a ghoul that catches people.

REVIEWS

Le Syllabaire accadien. By F. Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Geuthner, 1926, pp. 80.

M. Thureau-Dangin gives a list of 286 signs with their Akkadian values and a list of homophones, Akkadian and Sumerian. We hope that Thureau-Dangin's system of transliteration given here will be universally accepted, and that new values discovered from now on, will simply be added with exponents. The system has already been officially adopted by the American Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions. We note an omission on p. 63: add another *se* value for Sign 181 bis (cf. p. 52) cf. RA XI, 144, 14 (Sumerian). The great value of this work is that it will not only provide a suitable list of values but also help us to study more closely the development of Akkadian morphology which is today rather amorphic and incoherent.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16. bis 11. Jahrhundert vor Christi. Von Friedrich Bilabel. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1927, pp. 475. Mk. 33.00.

After about twelve pages of introduction on geography in which full use is made of the most recent material, cuneiform, hieroglyphic, and others, one hundred pages are devoted to Egypt, including Syria. The position taken by the author is that of the careful investigator, and he is consequently not carried away by fancies. His treatment of the thorny problem of the reign of Hatshepsut is masterly. He has not much use for the sentimental exaggerations commonly expressed about Ikhnaton, nor has he been influenced by hypercritical treatments of the date of the Exodus, choosing, in the present state of our knowledge to stand by Rameses II as the Oppressor.

The section on the Empire of the Hittites shows a deep knowledge of the situation to date, and the twenty-five pages on Babylonian

and Assyrian history are concise and accurate. About twelve pages are devoted to a useful summary of the development of the period covered in the book.

The most valuable part of the book is found in the next two hundred and twenty pages, where special points are studied and special problems are investigated. Some of these interesting points and problems are: "The title King of Kings," "Sources of the Syrian Campaigns of Thutmose III," "The New Hittite Empire," &c. Useful chronological tables are constructed on the basis of the newest material. The book is supplied with splendidly full indexes. It will remain a standard work on this period for some time, and it has already antiquated some positions in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

An Egyptian Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary. By Samuel A. B. Mercer. London: Luzac & Co., 1927.

To the beginner, the study of Egyptian has been heretofore an almost forbidden subject. Grammars of Egyptian have been either too technical and abstruse or too vague and unscientific. The present volume is not only clear and concise, but at the same time in sound consonance with modern philological methods.

Through comparatively easy stages Dr. Mercer leads us through the grammar and syntax of the language. We are offered a representative chrestomathy of Egyptian literature—and what is most unusual in such grammars—the exercises are purposeful and relevant, and the vocabulary and sign lists are adequate. The book evinces the author's sound training as an Oriental scholar and the facility gained from his extensive experience as a teacher.

We note a few printer's errors, such as the transcription "pt" instead of "pr" for $\overline{\text{pr}}$, on page 11, but on the whole, the book is singularly free from errors and inaccuracies.

The grammatical rules are broadly stated rather than burden the student with details and exceptions which serve only to confuse. The work should prove a most desirable introduction to Egyptian, both to college and private students. The Gardner book, while scholarly, is ponderous and intricate, and beyond the ken of those outside of the circle of specialists.

The book is well printed, in contradistinction to the prevalent autographic reproductions.

A. S. ARNOLD

Har moderjorden dyrkats hos semiterna? (Aus der Festschrift Nathan Söderblom.) Door Efr. Briem. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1926.

Obiger Aufsatz, der in der Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag des Erzbischofs Söderblom erschienen ist, stellt sich zur Aufgabe, das Problem von der Existenz einer Mutter-Erde-Göttin bei den Semiten zu erörtern. Durch die Veröffentlichung des hochbedeutsamen Werkes von Dietrich „Mutter Erde, ein Versuch über Volksreligion“, das sich auf die primitive und indogermanische Vorstellungswelt erstreckt, haben auch semitistische Forscher sich mit dieser Frage beschäftigt und sowohl westsemitische wie ostsemitische Völker in den Bereich ihrer Untersuchungen gezogen. Was die ersteren betrifft, unterzieht Briem die Anschauungen Gunkels berechtigter Kritik. Die Auffassung Gunkels von der Genesisstelle 1:24 תוצא הארץ נפש חיה als die Erde, die aus ihrem Schoße die gesamte organische Welt sozusagen herausgebiert, verwirft der Verfasser mit dem Hinweis auf die Parallelstelle Vers 20: „Möge das Meer erfüllt sein von einem Gewimmel lebendiger Wesen“, was also das Meer als die Stätte für das Leben der Fische hinstellt, wie es die Erde ist für Tiere und Menschen. Ausgiebigeres Material für unser Problem bietet zweifelsohne die sumerisch-babylonische Literatur. Hier stoßen wir auf allerlei Schöpfungsmythen, in welchen man geneigt wäre, die Vorstellung einer Mutter Erde zu erblicken. Verfasser prüft mit wissenschaftlicher Gründlichkeit den von P. Dhorme herangezogenen Passus aus dem Atrahasis-Mythos C. T. XV, pl. 49, col. IV: 1:3, *i-na bit a-li-te ħa-riš-ti 7 ume u-na-di libittu*: „Im Hause der Wöchnerin möge während sieben Tage ein Ziegelstein gelegt werden.“ Dhorme sieht hier ein nahes Verhältnis zwischen der Geburt des Menschen und der Erde: «Le rôle de la brique est dû à l'argile qui la compose, l'homme a besoin de la terre pour naître.» Er denkt dann auch an die auf derselben Tafel geschilderte Schöpfung der Mutter aus vierzehn Tonklumpen, zwischen welche ein Ziegelstein gelegt wird. Wie Dr. Briem richtig bemerkt, ist es voreilig, daraus schließen zu wollen, daß der Ziegelstein oder der Ton die die Menschen schaffende Erde repräsentiere, und er faßt den ganzen Vorgang als einen magisch-apotropäischen Akt zur Erleichterung der Entbindung auf. Ebenso logisch konsequent wird die von Langdon in seiner Monographie „Tammuz and Ishtar“ verfochtene Ansicht bekämpft, die Weingöttin „ama gestin“ oder „gestinanna“ wäre eine Personifikation der Erde. Er gibt den ebenso ein-

fachen wie einleuchtenden Einwand an, daß ein weinkultivierendes Volk wie die Sumerer-Babylonier sicher die Weinrebe als eine Mutter-Göttin angebetet hätte. Verfasser kommt dann auf andere verschiedene Mutter-Göttinnen zu sprechen. Ereški-gal, Dam-ki-na Ištar und Ninḥarsag. Ereški-gal wird als die typische Herrscherin der Unterwelt hingestellt, die auch als Gebärerin der Dämonen erscheint, vgl. die Bezeichnung der bösen Sieben als Gebote der Ereški-gal. Aber auch die Erde wird als Gebärerin der Dämonen gedacht. So in der vom Verfasser herangezogenen Stelle im Ira-Mythos (Ebeling, „Der akkadische Mythos vom Pestgotte Era“, col. I, 7, 26—27) *anu ab ilani iršitam šal-lam-ma sibi biilani mešul-da-aš-šum-ma ilu sibi biit-ta-bi š(ume) šuma*: „Anu, der Vater der Götter, liegt auf der Erde, sieben Götter, die sie (die Erde) ihm gebiert, ‚sibi‘ nannte er sie.“ Die sieben Götter sind wahrscheinlich die sieben Dämonen, die aus den Höhlen der Erde stammen, und der Verfasser ist auch hier sehr vorsichtig in seinen Schlüssen, indem er den Geburtsakt nicht auf die Menschen, Tier- und Pflanzenwelt erstreckt. Was die Göttin Damkina betrifft, liegt die Sache vielleicht nicht ganz so, wie der Verfasser es erklärt. Apsu als Urtiefe des Ozeans wird tatsächlich der Charakter eines chthonischen, Fruchtbarkeit spendenden Ortes zugeschrieben. Der C. T. XVI 45 vorkommende bekannte Kiškan-Mythos hebt mit folgenden Worten an: *ina eridu kiš-ka-nu sal-mu irbi ina aš-ri elli ib-ba-ni / zimušu uknu-u ibbi ša ana apsi tar-šu ša dea tallakta-šu ina eridu hegalli ma-la-a-ti*: „In Eridu (wo das Apsu-Heiligtum sich befand) wächst ein schwarzer Kiskann-Baum, auf einem reinen Orte entstand er, sein Aussehen ist wie ein glänzender Lasurstein, der zum Apsu sich erstreckt, des Ea (En-ki) Lauf in Eridu (der Apsu-Ozean) ist von Überfluß voll.“ Weiter erfahren wir, daß der Vegetationsgott Tammuz zusammen mit Šamaš dort throne. Wir wissen auch, daß dieser Mythos kein Produkt der Spekulation war, sondern in das Leben der Babylonier eingriff. Er wird ausdrücklich als *sipat apsi* (Beschwörung Apsus) für den von Dämonen besessenen unruhigen Menschen bezeichnet. Ea ist der Vater, in Apsu aber zugleich der personifizierte Apsu selbst, was ja in der Bezeichnung Apsus in unserem Mythos als „des Ea Lauf in Eridu“ zum Vorscheine kommt. Bemerke auch den Passus Ib-dm. Seine (Eas) Wohnstätte ist das Lager der Göttin Engur, wo die Identität zwischen Ea und Engur-Apsu deutlich hervortritt. In einer vom Forscher angeführten Stelle werden Ea und Damkina als das Herrscherpaar in Apsu bezeichnet: *Ea U Damkina a-šib apsi*

rabi: „Ea und Damkina bewohnen das große Apsu.“ Sie repräsentieren beide Apsu, den chthonischen Ort, der dem Lande Fruchtbarkeit verleiht. So heißt in einem von Witzel neuerdings herausgegebenen Hymnus an den Ea-Tempel Esira, „Keilinschriftliche Studien“ 5, Apsu das Leben des Landes. Man könnte einwenden, daß all dies kein Beweis für Mutter-Erde-Vorstellungen liefert. Durch nähere Untersuchung werden wir sehen, daß dies nicht der Fall ist. Die Verwandtschaft zwischen den Begriffen Apsu und Erde wird uns klar, wenn wir wissen, daß die Babylonier sich die Erdentiefe als die Höhlung des Ozeans — *nakab apsi* — dachten. So heißt es von den bösen Sieben, daß sie in der Tiefe des Ozeans, d. h. in der Erdentiefe (vgl. oben das von ihrer Geburt Gesagte) großgezogen sind. In der Mutter-Erde-Vorstellung liegt ja die Idee vom Schöpfungsvermögen der Erdentiefe, die aus ihrem Schoße die Pflanzenwelt emporkeimen läßt. Die Silbe *ki* in Enki und Damkina würde uns dann sagen, daß sie die Herrscher der Erdentiefe, bzw. des Ozeans sind.

Noch deutlicher können wir die Vorstellung der Erde als Mutter in der Göttin Ishtar sehen. In einem an sie gerichteten Hymnus, „L'exaltation d'Istar“, R. A. XI, 147 f., entspricht sumerischem *Ki-Šar* das semitische *antum* (*au-šar-anu*), und sie wird als *hi-ir-tum šin-na-at-ka sum. nitlam e-da-di-sá*: „Gemahlin gleich dir (d.h. Ishtar) an Macht.“ Ishtar nahm ja tatsächlich den ersten Platz unter den sumerisch-babylonischen Göttinnen ein, und wenn es Z. 20/21 heißt: *antum šir-tum lu-u ni-bit šu'-me-ki sum: dki-šar mah-a mu-sa-zu he-im*: „erhabene *antum* möge dein Name sein“, beweist dies zur Genüge, daß Antum nicht, wie der Verfasser vermutet, ein Produkt der Spekulation bildete (vgl. auch die Weihinschrift *Sin-šar-iškun* an Antum, „Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts“, Nr. 171); *dki-šar* ist außerdem mit einem Götter-Determinativ versehen, also nicht nur wie in den Anfangszeilen des „Enuma eliš“-Epos als Prinzip, sondern auch zugleich persönlich-konkret aufgefaßt. Ishtar war, wie auch der Verfasser richtig hervorgehoben hat, die typische assyrisch-babylonische und westsemitische Mutter und Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin (vgl. auch des Verfassers Dissertation: „Studier över moder- och fruktbarhetsgudinnorna i den sumerisk-babyloniska religionen“, S. 135 ff.), und da in unserem Hymnus deutlich Anu und Antum als Vertreter der Himmels- und Erdenwelt erscheinen, wird sicher Ishtar-Antum als die fürsorgliche Mutter Erde aufzufassen sein.

Obwohl aber Referent, was den babylonischen Teil betrifft, zu einer vom Verfasser abweichenden Ansicht gelangt, kann er nicht umhin, dessen Arbeit als gründlich wissenschaftliche und verdienstvolle Leistung zu bezeichnen, die das Problem von einem neuen Gesichtspunkte aus betrachtet.

HERMAN WOHLSTEIN

The Story of Ancient Babylonia and Assyria. By Donald A. Mackenzie. London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1927, pp. 80. 40 cents.

There are in this little book 35 of the clearest miniature chapters on Babylonia and Assyria I have ever read. And there are withal many beautiful illustrations. This little book should be very widely circulated. It is written well and is accurate in every detail.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Les Tablettes de Kerkouk et les Origines de la Civilisation Assyrienne. Par G. Contenau. Paris: Geuthner, 1926, pp. 140. Fr. 50.00.

This is a reprint from *Babyloniaca* IX 2—4. Students will be glad to have this useful discussion in separate form, and especially as it contains so many reproductions of seals. The collection of proper names will also be found useful.

S. A. B. M.

Baghdad the City of Peace. By Richard Coke. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1927, pp. 343. 21/- net.

Baghdad, the city of Haroun-al-Raschid and the Arabian Nights, is romantic even in name. And yet until now no consecutive history of the city has ever been written. Mr. Coke tells the long romance of Baghdad vividly and fully. This is the book which every lover of the ancient past, and in particular of Ancient Mesopotamia, must read. It is well written, profusely illustrated, and ably done.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Fellahin of Upper Egypt. By Winifred S. Blackman. London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1927, pp. 331. 15/- net.

This is a most successful attempt to portray the religious, social, and industrial life of the present Fellahin of Upper Egypt with special reference to survivals from ancient times. And no one could

have accomplished this task better than Miss Blackman. Miss Blackman has spent the best part of six years among the subjects of her study, living among them and gaining their confidence. She has succeeded in entering into their daily life, living and conversing with them, in such a way as to be able to observe their customs and understand their ways as a native might do. And this book is only the beginning of the great store of knowledge which the learned authoress purposes to make public. Her great work deserves the greatest encouragement and most practical support.

The book is beautifully written, and packed with interesting material. It is also well illustrated. The following selection of Chapter-headings will give an idea of the subjects treated: "Egyptian Villages and their Inhabitants," "Personal Decoration and Ornaments," "Marriage and Divorce," "Inter-village Fights," "The Evil Eye and other Superstitions," "The Village Story-teller and his Tales." Perhaps the most interesting chapter to readers of the *Journal* is the last, "Ancient Egyptian Analogies," where Miss Blackman has had the expert assistance of her brother, Dr. Blackman, the well-known Egyptologist.

The proof-reading has been remarkably well-done (correct F to J in foot-note 1 on page 171), and the index leaves little to be desired. The book is the best which has ever been published on this subject.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Egypt. By George Young. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927, pp. 352. \$5.00.

One of the most stimulating books on any subject. Many of Mr. Young's theories about Britain's relations with Egypt belong to the field of controversy, but they are stated and maintained with much logic and with a great array of facts. He pleads for tolerance and complete independence for Egypt, and although himself a British subject, often writes with the greatest contempt for the British administration; compare such pages as 37, 49, 119. Indeed, he sometimes seems positively unfair to the British point of view, compare page 126. At times it seems as if Mr. Young is by nature a defendant of the under-dog without regard to the moral right or wrong of the under-dog. For example, Sir Eldon Gorst whom almost every one looks upon as a failure in Egypt is given unbounded credit for what he did or failed to do. Moreover,

the author often appears inconsistent in his arguments (see page 201). But in spite of all these strictures, Mr. Young's arguments on the whole are most compelling, and one is so successfully carried along by the author as to find himself admitting that the best that Britain can hope for the future of Egypt is that it remains as a fully independent and sovereign state within the great Commonwealth of Nations together with India, Australia, Canada, and Great Britain itself.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Akhnaton King of Egypt. By Dmitri Merezhkovsky. Translated from the Russian by N. A. Duddington. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1927, pp. 372. \$2.00.

An entrancing story, with some history as a background, but with a strange mixture of bizarre ideas about Ikhnaton and Jesus. It will never become a "best seller," but it is a far finer book than the majority of modern novels, which have little originality and no real reason for existing.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Ancient Egypt. By Donald A. Mackenzie. London, Glasgow, and Toronto (1118 Bay Street): Blackie & Son, 1927, pp. 80. 40 cents.

This is a fascinating little book, beautifully illustrated, and describing in simple and vivid words the history and achievements of the ancient Egyptians. A better small book on Egypt does not exist.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Kleinasiatische Forschungen. Herausgegeben von Ferdinand Sommer und Hans Ehelolf. Bd. I, Heft 1, pp. 160. Mk. 10.00.

Here we have a new Oriental journal—the first and only one of its class. It is devoted to ancient Asia Minor, especially to Hittite matters and neighbouring interests. We welcome it among Oriental journals, and assure it our good-will and heartiest co-operation. Its object is a most worthy one. The way in which articles on Hittitology have had to beg for place in other journals is in itself a justification for this journal.

The list of articles in this the first number is interesting. Buy and read them! They are: Kretschmer, *Der Name der Lykier*; Kahle und Sommer, *Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue*; Friedrich, *Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?*;

Götze, *Zur Geographie des Hethiterreiches*; Sommer, *Hethitisch narāni*; Götze, *Randnoten zu Forrers „Forschungen“*; Ehelolf, *Zum hethitischen Lexikon*.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Book of Daniel. By James A. Montgomery. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927, pp. 488. \$4.50.

The Book of Daniel, one of the most interesting and important books in the Old Testament, has long awaited an adequate modern commentary. This has now appeared. The work of preparing this commentary was originally assigned to Dr. J. P. Peters, who died in 1921, but who already in 1918 asked Dr. Montgomery to collaborate with him. On the death of Dr. Peters the publishers placed the whole undertaking in the hands of Dr. Montgomery.

Generally speaking, Dr. Montgomery's work is chiefly philological, and much emphasis has been placed upon linguistic evidence in determining the date and unity of the book. The author is, therefore, led to the conclusion that the book is a composite work, the first six chapters having been written in the third century B.C., but the book as a whole finished between 168 and 165 B.C. Furthermore, a study of the textual problems, to which much space has been given, is a marked characteristic of the book. Although the proportion of exegetical material in this commentary is small in comparison with that in other commentaries in the ICC, yet there is an abundance of full historical and theological notes, such, for example, as the splendid note on the "Son of Man."

The work opens with a fine select bibliography, which shows that Montgomery has missed very little of prime importance. Then follows the Introduction of 112 pages, the Commentary occupying 368 pages.

It is admitted already on all hands that Dr. Montgomery has produced a work worthy of the greatest praise, and one which will remain the standard for many years. The learned author will, therefore, understand the hesitancy with which one ventures to make certain passing comments: One wonders whether on page 1, the author is right in suggesting that Daniel refused to "worship" Darius; in foot-note 4, on page 4, one misses a reference to G. F. Moore's masterful article on the *Jewish Sectaries*, which appeared in the *Harvard Theological Review* some seventeen years ago; should not one correct פסנתרין on page 22 to פסלתרין?; it should now be said that the Ethiopic text of Daniel has at last been

printed (see page 34), namely, by Löfgren in *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*, 1927; on page 139, the later and better German edition of Thureau-Dangin's work should have been referred to; and on page 441 one misses a reference to Weigall's great work on Cleopatra. But what are these minor matters in comparison with the general accuracy, learning and sanity of judgment which mark every page of this great work! In conclusion, one must say that an Index Variorum of only three pages is altogether inadequate for this fine book, packed with learned material from cover to cover.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Hebräische Archäologie. Von I. Benzinger. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1927, pp. 437. Mk. 24.00.

This is the third and very much enlarged edition of Benzinger's well-known book. There seems to be nothing of importance in Biblical archaeology omitted from this fine work with its 431 illustrations. The only criticism that one would venture is that, in view of the general perfectness of the work, the author fails to give original sources for his illustrations, for example, on page 143, the famous ploughing scene should have on page XIX a reference to A. T. Clay and not to B. Meissner. Let us not forget to give credit to the original publishers! Otherwise this great book is beyond criticism. As the same outline as in the second edition is retained there is no need of further description. But the book in its new form has decidedly antiquated the earlier editions.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

A study of Races in the Ancient Near East. By W. H. Worrell. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1927. 8s. 6d. net.

The question of the Hamites and of the Semitic origins forms the centre of the discussion of this book. On this point the author concludes that it is difficult to deny that Hamitic and Semitic are fundamentally related, and that Hamitic represents the survival of conditions more primitive than those to be found in Semitic. But he believes that the Semitic peoples are first in importance in the history and civilization of the Eastern end of the Mediterranean.

The section on the Egyptians as a part of the Hamitic race is particularly well written and accurate, though there are naturally many points where difference of opinion may be expressed, for

example, when the author says that Horus was of Upper Egyptian origin.

The last part of the book deals with the Aryans, but the most appealing chapters are on the Semites and on the lands of the Old Testament and of the religious traditions bound up so closely with the three great Semitic faiths, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Both specialist and layman will find this book most stimulating.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Revue des Études Islamiques. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

This new magazine is edited by Professor L. Massignon. It will appear four times a year. The subscription price is 100 francs for countries outside of France. The first number contains a classified bibliography of recent Islamic literature, a study of the new legal status of women in Kabylia, a paper on the evolution of the University of El Azhar, the first installment of the memoirs of Mustafa Kemel, and an interesting letter of a Senegalese "marabout." The new journal deserves to succeed. The first number is excellent and the name of its editor is sufficient guarantee that this high level will be maintained.

J. A. M.

Algazel, Tahafot al-Falasifat, Texte arabe. By Maurice Bouyges. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1927.

Professor Bouyges is eminently qualified for the task of preparing for publication a critical text of Alghazali's *Tahafot*. In this volume, the text is given with various readings in the foot-notes and with Latin titles on top of the page which will help the reader to find his way in the book. There are also a technical preface where the various manuscripts are described and classified, a table of the questions discussed, and six indices. The text represents the original work of Alghazali as well as it can be restored today. A translation by the editor is also announced. This volume inaugurates the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*, a much needed publication which does great honor to the Université Saint-Joseph of Beirut.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Rissalat al Tawhid — Exposé de la Religion Musulmane. By Sheikh Mohammed Abdou ... avec une introduction ... By B. Michel and the Sheikh Moustapha Abdel Razik. Paris: Geuthner, 1925, pp. 234. Fr. 40.00.

Few men have a greater and a better influence on Egypt than Mohammed Abdu. His *Rissalat* often reprinted is one of the best manuals of Moslem Religion. It treats of the categories of Knowledge, the Necessary Being, the divine attributes, Prophecy and Revelation, and the mission of Mohammed. All this is clear and has been well translated by the editors of this volume. The life of Mohammed Abdu in some 80 pages leaves one with an excellent estimate of its real importance. It seems indeed that he has blazed a way where Islam can progress.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions. By Theodore H. Robinson. London: Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 244. 5/- net.

Dr. Robinson has approached his subject from the evolutionary point of view and has arranged his material in accordance with that principle. Thus we have chapters in the following order: Introductory; Proto-Religion; Animism; Polytheism; Philosophy and Religion; Philosophical Religions; Monotheism; Islam; and Christianity. Regardless of the novelty and freshness of this arrangement of the subject matter the author's external adherence to the classical evolutionism of English anthropology, especially when applied to a phase of culture like religion, presents a number of difficulties. The chart of "A Phylogeny of Religions" at the beginning of the volume offers an excellent example, both summarizing and indicating the method used. Here we have a diagram which purports to demonstrate the development of various religions out of animism. According to this scheme Egyptian Religion is unclassified; all the religions named, with the possible exception of Egyptian Religion, have had no connection with totemism; Islam developed out of Judaism, a statement which needs considerable qualification; Judaism had no elements of nature worship, &c. The problem of the development of religion is not so easily solved. Throughout the book the author has preserved an objective point of view and in large measure has displayed "a real power of sympathy." Only occasionally do we have an expression like the following: "He (Muhammad) became subject to visions and though the messages he received in this way probably represented to a large extent the result of his own thinking, yet, they convinced him (and ultimately others) of the divine origin of the

truth he had to reveal." p. 182. We are inclined to believe that God has spoken at various times and in different manners, adjusting his message to the capacity of the recipient; that human thought cannot be separated from revelation; and that the revelation delivered to Muhammad differed in degree and not in kind from that given to the prophets of the Old Testament. Since the book before us is an introduction to the history of religions, presumably a guide to further study, a brief bibliography at the end of each chapter or at the end of the book would have been useful to the student, especially in a field where the literature is voluminous and much of it worthless. The defects noted above are negligible. Dr. Robinson has given us an excellent work, compact and well written, and it deserves a wide circulation.

HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT

Footprints of Early Man. By Donald A. Mackenzie. London, Glasgow, and Toronto (1118 Bay Street): Blackie & Son, 1927, pp. 190. 90 cents.

This useful and well written book is intended as a convenient and popular summary of the many discoveries of recent years, which are throwing so much light on the experience and activities of human beings in their struggle for existence during the prehistoric period.

Every chapter has its own peculiar fascination. There are twenty-three of them, and such titles as the following indicate their attraction: "How the Ice Age Began," "Brave Hunters of Cave-Bears," "Ancient Natives of Galilee and London," "The Discovery of Agriculture," "The Prehistoric Egyptians," "The Ocean Kings of Crete," "The Discovery of Metals," "Ancient Races and Languages."

There are sixteen excellent plates and a most useful select bibliography. The book is highly to be commended.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Les Entretiens de Lahore (entre le Prince Impérial Dará Shikúh et l'ascète hindou Baba L'al Das), par Clément Huart et L. Massignon. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1926.

Muhammad Dará Shikúh, eldest son of the Mogul Emperor Shah Jehan, has figured in history as the pitiful victim of the cruelty and

ambition of his younger brother Aurungzeb, who dispossessed father and brothers alike in order to climb to the miserable eminence of a throne. The present interesting translation from the Persian shows the unfortunate prince in a new light. He had evidently some of those proclivities towards eclecticism in religion which had distinguished his famous grandfather, the Emperor Akbar. These religious interests found in the ascetic Baba L'al Das an entirely sympathetic associate. The Hindu was apparently of the Kabirpanthi sect, that is, of those who had been influenced by the poet Kabir in the direction of attempting a reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam. So the translated dialogues are of singular interest, both for the subject matter and for the light thrown upon the thought and character of the friendly disputants. Both questions and answers are at times sufficiently naïve, as when idolatry is defended for the ignorant on the ground that children are permitted to play with dolls. But sometimes they touch upon deep things, such as the meaning of Reality or the nature of the Paramatman (Oversoul). In either case they are interesting and suggestive.

It should be added that the editors have done good work in the clarifying of the text apart from the provision of an excellent translation.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Bibliographie des Œuvres de Ignace Goldziher, par Bernard Heller. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

The Great War had its many incidental tragedies, among them the death, untimely, of not a few great European scholars. Goldziher did not die in arms, like Caspar Gregory, or by drowning, like Moulton. Nevertheless, his death in 1921 was, at least indirectly, a result of the war and, though he had reached the age of threescore and ten, his death was still untimely.

The present publication gives, in a hundred large pages, some idea of the enormous literary output of this prolific scholar. Nearly six hundred titles are given of books, magazine articles, reviews and translations which the world owes to this learned Hungarian Jew. Many languages, including Hungarian, Hebrew, English, German and French, are used and many subjects are dealt with. But the general trend is to the discussion of questions dear to the Hebraist and the Islamologist. In this last field Dr. Goldziher has done a great deal of most valuable work. One is filled with admiration at the mere enumeration of the tasks accomplished. Many of the

articles named are now difficult to obtain and it would be a real service to the orientalist for some one, with the help of this bibliography, to collect into a volume some of the more noteworthy papers which are at present scattered in many different directions. In any case, the present volume by a fellow countryman is an inspiring record of Dr. Goldziher's lifelong devotion to scholarship in a little-worked and difficult field.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Le Livre de Gerchâsp, Poème persan d'Asadi Junior de Tous. Publié et traduit par Clément Huart. Paris: Geuthner, 1926.

It was natural that the success of Firdusi in writing the *Shah Namah* should have evoked some desire of emulation on the part of later Persian poets. Firdusi, it will be remembered, found himself obliged to break through a regular cordon of fellow bards to begin with. So it is not surprising that a fellow townsman, Asadi the younger, of the city of Tus, should have felt the incentive to rival his predecessor. Hence the story of the paladin Gerchâsp, one of the ancestors of the mighty Rustam who is Firdusi's most conspicuous hero. The present poem is, of course, not to be compared with the *Shah Namah* except in general style and in the use of the familiar stock metaphors which are not, by the way, among the greatest beauties of the greatest of Persian epics. Asadi, fortunately, did not attempt to rival Firdusi's poem in the matter of length, though the story of Gerchâsp in M. Huart's translation makes a good sized book. Perhaps, since the story is by no means complete, the poet's plan was not fully realised.

In the present volume we have much more than a translation. The Persian text is given, with all the variant readings; there is a good introduction and an Index of proper names, while the translation itself is illustrated with foot-notes. Given the translator and the publisher, it is almost unnecessary to say that we have here a thoroughly good piece of work.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

The Tibetan Book of the Dead, or the After-Death experiences in the Bardo plane, according to Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. By W. Y. Evans-Wentz. With Foreword by Sir John Woodruffe. Oxford University Press.

The Bardo Thodöl is a Tibetan book, of the Red Cap sect, containing exercises for the forty-nine days which are supposed to

elapse between the time of death and the preparation of the soul for entering upon a fresh incarnation, provided, of course, it has not already secured freedom from rebirth. The exercises are addressed to the dying man, to the corpse and to the discarnate spirit, with the object of setting the soul face to face with reality and so frustrating reincarnation. If this cannot be done, it is still hoped that a low grade of reincarnation may be in this way avoided. The work is in itself interesting and appears to have been well translated. It naturally suggests comparison with the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and with certain mediaeval Christian treatises such as *De Arte Moriendi*. There is, however, no real ground for supposing, as the author appears to do, that there is any historical connection between these works, though certain primitive ideas may be preserved in all alike. The author's opinion that Christianity has been in some respects indebted to Tibetan Buddhism has no real foundation. The truth seems rather to lie in the opposite direction. Mr. Evans-Wentz confesses his indebtedness to the Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup and his enthusiasm with regard to the qualities of this Tibetan scholar is shared by Sir John Woodruffe. The latter, who is well known as an authority on Tantric literature, contributes an interesting and appreciative Foreword. It must be observed that the volume is written from the point of view of a convinced disciple of the system described and that some statements regarding the philosophy of Buddhism would not be accepted by many foreign students of the subject. Nevertheless, Mr. Evans-Wentz has laid us all under obligation for the issuance of the Tibetan Book of the Dead and it is to be hoped that other texts mentioned may in due course be translated, though, alas, the Lama collaborator is no more.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Indian Philosophy. By S. Radhakrishnan. Vol. II, pp. 797. New York: Macmillan, 1927.

Professor Radhakrishnan's first volume was enthusiastically reviewed. The second volume was perhaps a more difficult one because it covers a longer period. In his treatment of the six brahmanical systems the author has preserved an uncommon sense of balance. His exposition of each system is accurate, clear, and methodically arranged. No one but a Hindu well grounded in Indian logic could have written the admirable exposition of the Nyaya or the no less important outline of the Purva Mimamsa.

The author describes each system as if he were for the present one in full sympathy with them, and their terminology is never confused with that of another system. He shows that Vedanta is of course *the* system which permeates every Indian philosophy today but his own exposition of that system is of course free from the grandiloquent vagueness of some modern Vedantists. Some readers will perhaps be surprised to see that theism proper occupies two rather small chapters. This is as it should be, for Indian theism is not essentially intellectual. Professor Radhakrishnan hopes that Indian thought, which is rather stagnant today, will integrate modern scientific philosophy and the discoveries of ancient philosophies. His book will certainly help his fellow countrymen to realize the true value of the results of the meditations of the Indian soul of yesterday. An excellent feature of this book is the distinction between more important and less important matter by use of special type. There is a very good index. It is indeed a magnificent piece of work, the standard work on the subject. JOHN A. MAYNARD

Dandin's Dasha-Kumara-Charita. The Ten Princes. Translated by Arthur W. Ryder. University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 256.

Dandin's famous picturesque novel has already been translated into French by Fauche, into English by Jacob (but not as well as we should wish) and excellently into German by J. J. Meyer. Dr. Ryder who has already proved his remarkable talent as a translator of the Panchatantra gives us now a magnificent rendering of Dandin. Under the sentences couched when necessary in uncommon English, one can feel the pulse of Dandin's style. The episode of the dance of the ball is exquisitely rendered. Dandin is famous for his love of long words, one of them fills nine Sanskrit lines (two hundred and thirty-six syllables). It does not make the task of the translator an easy one.

Dandin was no puritan. Several pages of his novel are rather detailed in their description of female pulchritude. Dr. Ryder had to skip a few lines which would not have been understood by the average reader. The only criticism we shall make of this book is that too many of the Sanskrit names have been left untranslated. Dr. Ryder has been so happy in his translations of proper names that he should have felt free to translate most of them. We think that the average reader will be confused by the names when there

is a tale within a tale. But that is only a matter of opinion. There is no better guide to an understanding of Dandin than Dr. Ryder's translation.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Die Eingeborenen Australiens und der Südseeinseln. By Richard Thurnwald. Tübingen: Mohr, 1927, pp. 52. Mk. 2.20.

Die Jainas. By Walther Schubring. Tübingen: Mohr, 1927, pp. 38. Mk. 1.80.

These two new parts of the second edition of the Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch edited by Bertholet maintain the high level of former parts. Professor Thurnwald studies first the Australians, then the Papuans and Melanesians, then the Polynesians and Micronesians. The sources are given from German books and from English publications and books translated by him into German. The selection is well made, although it would perhaps have been more representative, if some selections from "Anthropos" had been included. There is a very thorough index.

Professor Schubring's source book on Jainism contains short biographies of Parsva and Mahavira from Jain Scriptures, then readings on monastic life, cosmology, philosophy and the way of deliverance. There is an index.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

OBITUARY

THE premature death of Miss Ettalene M. Grice came as a shock to all of us, especially to Assyriologists. Miss Grice had already established a reputation for sound and accurate scholarship combined with keen and penetrating insight into the intricacies of her subject. Her knowledge of Cuneiform signs was very rare, as all know who ever collaborated with her in this difficult field.

Miss Grice was born at Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1887. In 1911 she graduated from Western College for Women, at Oxford, Ohio, with the degree of B.A. From 1911 to 1912 she taught in the Portsmouth public schools, from 1912 to 1914 she was a graduate student at Bryn Mawr under Professor Barton, and from 1914 to 1917 she was a student in the graduate school of Yale University under Professor Clay. She received the degree of Ph.D. from Yale in 1917. Miss Grice was the first to hold the Alexander Kohut Research Fellowship in Semitics at Yale, which she held for a number of years, and she continued at Yale in connection with the Yale Babylonian Collection until the time of her death on December the 17th, 1927. At Yale Miss Grice rose to the rank of Research Associate with the rank of Assistant Professor and Assistant Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection. She was thus connected with the Yale Babylonian Collection for thirteen years, a continuous service of the highest order from 1914 to 1927. She likewise directed the work of the Yale Babylonian Collection for a year after Professor Clay's death, during the academic year 1925—1926.

Dr. Grice is well-known among Assyriologists as the author of *Records from Ur and Larsa, Dated in the Larsa Dynasty*, Vol. V of the Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts; and of *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty*, Vol. IV, 1, of the Yale Oriental Series. Researches. For many years she had been working on a *List of Cuneiform Signs and Sign Groups* which she left incomplete, but the vast amount of data which she collected will be available for

the carrying on of this her major work. In addition to all this Miss Grice had for several years been engaged on the carrying out and completion of Professor Clay's preparation for the publication of a *Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions*. To this work she had devoted herself unsparingly. In Dr. Grice we have lost not only a first-class Assyriologist, but a Christian character of rare sweetness and charm. May her soul rest in everlasting peace and may light perpetual shine upon her!

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE COMMUNICATIONS

NUMBER 2

EXPLORATIONS IN HITTITE ASIA MINOR PRELIMINARY REPORT

By H. H. VON DER OSTEN

Rock fortresses pierced by subterranean tunnels and steps leading to the very center of the rock, subterranean temples of three stories supported by huge pillars and decorated in hand-carved frescoes, rock tombs containing blue and red stained pottery—these are some of the interesting discoveries made by H. H. VON DER OSTEN in his expedition into Hittite Asia Minor.

The Hittites, known to people chiefly through the mere mention made of them in the Bible, were an extremely enterprising people and left traces of a civilization that are important to archeological knowledge.

The region in which the Hittites lived has scarcely been touched by archeologists, so that it presents a very fertile field. Through the region are scattered *hüyüks*, or "artificial hills" which are usually sites of ancient Hittite settlements. Much of the material—documents, pottery, and so on, were found in these. There are also the *tumuli* or ancient burial hills, which are almost as rich in the remains of Hittite civilization.

This report contains material valuable to archeologists and laymen alike. The facts are interestingly presented, and the book is well illustrated.

\$1.00, postpaid \$1.10

NUMBER 3

FIRST REPORT OF THE PREHISTORIC SURVEY EXPEDITION

By K. S. SANDFORD and W. J. ARKELL

This survey of the geology of the Nile is a first effort to rediscover those chapters of the history of man (*homo sapiens* and his more primitive progenitors) in Egypt which are missing from the written records. The study of pre-historic man has been steadily advancing in Europe for two generations past, but only slight progress in such studies has been made in the Nile Valley.

Going over the terraces cut by the Nile in its eons of existence, Dr. SANDFORD and Dr. ARKELL have found implements and pottery, differing in each terrace, that correspond closely to European discoveries. The 100 foot terrace contains Chellean implements like those found in northern France; the fifty foot terrace has Acheulian implements like those from the banks of the Somme river in France, the 25-30 foot terrace those of early Mousterian types, and the lowest and most recent terrace is also plentifully supplied with implements of this same Mousterian type, found first in Dorgagne in south-west France.

These findings, as well as the other discoveries made in this region have a direct bearing on the work of archeologists, who can, with this geological information, carry their explorations to a greater degree of exactitude.

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